COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"This motion of Mr. Biddulph, instead of at once putting the ministers to the proof; instead of shewing "the country what it had to expect from them, in the way of economy; instead of doing this by a "proposition for abolishing such sinecures and pensions as never were merited by the parties enjoying "them; instead of this, the motion was calculated, like the "learned languages," to produce an effect "worse than useless; because, by the appointment of a committee, no *reduction* will be brought about, "and because, by such appointment, some persons will be led to believe, that a reduction will be brought "about. There have been such committees before; and still the amount of the grants has gone on in-"creasing."——POLITICAL REGISTER: 21st Feb. 1807.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

REVERSION BILL.——During the last session of parliament, a bill passed the House of Commons, the object of which was to prevent, in future, the granting of any place in reversion. This bill was thrown out in the House of Lords; and, another bill, of the same tendency, lately passed in the House of Commons, has, in the upper house, met with the same fate. A third bill is now before the former house, or, is, by this time, carried up to the latter.——To be sure, it is a monstrous abuse to give a place, or office, or employment, to any one, to be held by him after the death of the present holder. It is evident, that a thousand things may happen, to make it improper that the reversioner should fill the office, of which he has the reversion; but, the impropriety becomes glaringly manifest, when we consider, that the appointment in reversion is frequently, if not generally, to children, or to persons in trust for children, or for women.——Lord Auckland's son, for instance was a mere child, when the reversion of Lord Thurlow's place, as a Teller of the Exchequer was granted to him; and, if any one will take the pains to look over the list of this sort of places, he will find almost every place granted two or three deep; that is to say, for an age yet to come.——Yet, I wish to guard my readers against the notion, that the putting of a stop to this abuse would, of itself, do the nation any great good. I wish to show to them, that the bill, if passed, unaccompanied with any other measure of reform, would prove a thing of mere sound.——In the first place, the offices in question are *sinecures*, that is to say, offices wherein the holders have nothing in the world to do but to receive the salaries attached to the said offices. In other words they are so many pretences for giving away the public money; so many fixed annual allowances; so many perpetually existing pensions. This being the real state of the case, I can perceive no mischief, likely to arise from the power of granting of a place in reversion, which is not full as likely to arise from the power of granting a pension to descend in enjoyment to a second or a third person, after the present grantee; and, as far as I have heard, it does not appear to be the object of any of the reversion-abolishers, now in parliament, to prevent the king, or his successor, from granting pensions in reversion.——The petitions, indeed, from the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, of the city of London, to both Houses of Parliament, go deeper into the matter. They complain, that there are numbers of abuses in the management and expenditure of the public money; that the peculators detected have not been punished; that there are many sinecure places and pensions which ought to be abolished, for that they not only greatly add to the burdens of the people, but create a pernicious and dangerous influence, corrupting and undermining the free principles of the British Constitution. True as this is, and useful as it is to promulgate such truths, I should not, had I been a Londoner, have joined in the petition; and, my objection would have been, that these sentiments were accompanied with what was calculated to spread abroad the idea, that the reversion bill ought to be regarded as a beginning in the good work of reform, than which, as it is evident to me, nothing could be farther from the truth.——The petitioners say, that "they "viewed with much satisfaction the foun-"dation of a committee of finance, and "hailed the introduction to prevent the "granting of places in reversion, as the "first step towards a salutary reformation." ——Did Mr. Waithman, who was the proposer of this petition, recollect, when he was drawing it up, the origin of this famous committee of finance? The motion for the appointment of the committee, was, as was stated by me at the time, calculated to pre-

vent, or, at least, to retard, any real reform in the distribution and expenditure of the public money. The committee was "to "inquire *whether any*, and what *further*, "saving might be made by the abolition of "sinecure offices." Just as if it was matter of *doubt*, whether any saving could so be made; and just as if there *had already* been savings in that way. Truly, such a foundation did not promise much good; and, whoever is disappointed at the result the fault is entirely their own. But, it does really surprize me, that so sensible, so well-informed, so clever, and so sound a man as Mr. Waitman is universally allowed to be, and as I am convinced he is, should have given into the notion, that the reversion bill, a bill which did not even glance at the abolition of any place, or the diminution of any expence, was "the first step towards a salutary reformation," when the fact notoriously was, that the late ministers had no other object in view, in bringing forward this bill, than that of preventing the king from making grants, which, if the bill became a law, would fall into the hands of his successors, the first of whom was, of course, the Prince of Wales. It does, indeed, surprize me, that Mr. Waithman, who is, in general, so clear-sighted, and who is so much above the trickery and fraud of faction, should have allowed himself to become instrumental in holding forth this measure, which had its birth in motives decidedly of a party nature, as a step in the way of a great and public-spirited reformation.—— The subject has, I perceive, been taken up by that rump of faction, called the Whig Club, which, upon the exaltation of Mr. Fox, suddenly swelled to *four hundred* at a meeting, and which has now again re-dwindled to a *dozen*. It is very well for that club to make speeches about their *patriotic-principles*; but, will they show us any one act, which they did in the way of diminishing the public burdens, while they were in office? Nay, will they now say, that they will, if again in office, *reduce the number and amount of the sinecure places and pensions?* This is the question for us to put to them; for, if we are *to continue to pay the full amount of those places and pensions*, what is it to us, whether the grants be made by the present, or by a succeeding king? There is much soundness in the argument, that, if the sinecures are to continue, the granting of them in reversion is less likely to render the holders dependant, than if they were granted for one life only; and, I think, it is pretty clear, that the less frequently the gift returns into the hands of the minister, the less frequent will be the occasions, wherein it will be made the means of corruption. The fact is, that the places in question are, in general, granted only for one life at a time. Such has been the greediness, such the prevailing desire, to live upon the labour of the people, that the ministers, for many years back, have had no sinecure places to grant, but merely the reversion of places. There is always in existence a crew of place-hunters who wait for dead men's shoes; and thus have the places been engaged for half a century to come.—— "Aye," say the advocates of the reversion bill, "but, the only way to *abolish* these "places is, first, to prevent the granting "of them in reversion; because, *until* "*they become vacant, they cannot be abo-*"*lished.*" It is because the reversion bill affects to be founded upon this principle, that I dislike it, more than upon any other account. It is because a sanction is thus given to the audacious doctrine, that, let what will happen; let the distresses of the people be what they may, sinecure places are to be regarded as private property, as a freehold estate, and are to remain untouched, though the people, by whose labour the holders are supported, should be reduced to a degree of misery, that would drive them to seek for relief, even under the yoke of a conqueror. Half a century is too long for this nation to wait for the effects of "a salutary reforma-"tion." I hope to see a salutary reformation much sooner than the end of the life of even the oldest of the present sinecure placemen.——I was sorry to see Mr. Waithman at the Whig Club. If he thinks that any good is to be effected in that way, he is grievously deceived. The public are sick of both factions. The *wranglings* of the last year have put a finishing-stroke to confidence in public men; and, though it is quite clear, that a *great change* must take place, particularly in the management of the public money, not a soul will stir to assist the endeavours of the present opposition, who, as all the world perceive, have no other object in view than that of ousting their rivals, and getting into their places.——I shall be told, perhaps, that this was *always* the case. But, the reading, which a compilation of the *history of the parliament* has compelled me to perform, has convinced me of the falsehood of this assertion; an assertion constantly made by all those, who are interested in the support of a system of corruption. It was not until about a century ago; not, indeed, until after the Revolution, that a regular system of parliamentary opposition was organized and acted upon; and,

if that system had been organized before, there never would have been such a revolution; never would have been a revolution, until the miserable people, assisted, perhaps, as the people of Spain now are, by a foreign invader, had risen, with despairing and bloody minds, to tear the whole fabrick to pieces. No: a regular opposition; a dead set opposition; a division of the representatives of the people into two distinct sets of pleaders, arrayed against each other upon benches deriving their names from the parties occupying them: this does *not* make a part of the constitution of England: it is a terrible evil, grown out of the neglect and violation of that constitution.——Is it not a lamentable thing, to see, at a time like this, whole months spent in eager and angry contest; and, during the whole time, scarcely any one thing seriously discussed, or proposed, having for its real object the guarding of the nation against the dangers that await it? To see all the powers of the minds of so many men of such great talents, so eminently qualified, by nature as well as by experience, for the task of giving a right direction to the public mind, and of infusing into the whole mass of the nation courage and public-spirit; to see all these powers wasted in despicable bickerings and vexatious propositions? To have expected many indications of public-spirit might have been unreasonable; but, surely, selfish and corrupt as are the times, we might have expected to see some *one*, out of so many hundreds, to set us an example of willing sacrifices to the good of the country; yet, no such example, amongst all the numerous candidates for power, have we seen.——I must now return to the reversion bill, for a moment, in order to notice the debate, which took place upen it, in the House of Commons, on Monday last, the 11th instant.——The bill was new-modelled. In order to render it palatable in the House of Lords, it was made to *suspend* the power of granting places in reversion, "during the "*inquiry* now pending in the House of "Commons." LORD PORCHESTER moved an amendment, making the bill what it was before; that is to say, a prohibition of any future grants of places in reversion.——MR. STEPHEN opposed the amendment. He said, "that it had by no means been yet proved that the abolition of the practice of granting offices in reversion was injurious to the country, and it appeared to him to be at least a very questionable assertion to contend that it was so. He deprecated the disunion between the co-ordinate branches of the legislature, and condemned in warm terms the attempts that were making at such a critical period as the present, when the executive government had but too many difficulties to contend with to trench upon the prerogatives of the crown, and by that means to increase those difficulties in a tenfold degree.

"SIR FRANCIS BURDETT combatted the "arguments of the learned gentleman (Mr. "Stephens), who having rebuked others for "the temper shewn by them in this debate, "had himself exhibited more of what was "peculiarly denominated temper, than he "had often witnessed in that house. Indeed, the whole speech of the learned "gentleman seemed to have proceeded from "it, consisting chiefly of reflections cast upon persons no longer in office, and its "whole scope and tendency seemed to have "that in view, rather than the question, or "any of those important considerations naturally suggested by it. To this must be "attributed the palpable defectiveness of the "learned gentleman's reasoning; which "appeared to him no less erroneous with "respect to principles of politics than of "law. The learned gent had adduced the "situation of Europe, and the circumstances of the times as arguments in favour of "prerogative; even if this granting of reversions was an abuse, these were not "times in which it ought to be restrained.—"Was it possible we could cast our eyes "over the map of Europe, or the page of its "History for the last fifteen years, and still "be advocating despotism, and putting our "trust in Standing Armies? Should we "never learn that an armed people, proud "of, and devoted to liberty, was the only "method of making a country unconquerable, and a government secure? What! "was it any want of prerogative that made "Austria, Prussia, Russia, and all the despots of Europe fall at the feet of France? "Or was it the want of their subjects hearts "that deprived them of energy and support; "that left them in the hour of danger "abandoned and forlorn? This should "teach princes and states, that those who "had been accustomed to "crook the "pregnant hinges of the knee" before one "master, could as easily perform the same "baseness before another; which consideration might put them out of love with "flattery and fawning; and teach them, "that despotism was not less impotent than "cruel, not less marked by infamy than "folly; nor more to be hated than despised.——He had learnt, not only from "those great writers whose theory, as the "learned gent. said, unfortunately differed

" from the practice of the constitution—he " had learnt not only from them, but also " from high prerogative lawyers, amongst " others from Sir H. Finch *, the high pre- " rogative lawyer, in the high prerogative " times of that high prerogative king, " Charles the First, who lost his head for " his prerogative, which he owed not a lit- " tle to his high prerogative lawyers, that " though the prerogative extended, as they " said, to every thing, yet it could not ex- " tend to abuse, because, being in its nature " for the benefit, it could not be exerted to " the injury of the public. Why, then, the " question was, were those Reversionary " places for the benefit or injury of the pub- " lic? But, they were pointed out as a griev- " ous injury and abuse by the committee of " this house. This house had adopted that " principle, framed a bill acknowledging it, " and abolishing it, but we were now to be " told it was unpalatable to the lords, that " we must yield it to their prejudices: but " it concerned too deeply the honour and " character of the commons, which he would " not consent to yield to the prejudice or " the pride or the corruption of the lords, " against which he would oppose the privi- " leges of the commons. Nor would he " consent, that the commons, in a measure, " no matter how small, of economy, of sa- " ving the people's pockets, of controlling " public expenditure, should bate an inch of " privilege, much less sacrifice the princi- " ple, which, in fact, was the whole of this " bill. The hon. gent. who brought for- " ward this bill—now proposed, to be ren- " dered totally worthless, by a compromise " with ministers, (and for whom he certain- " ly entertained a better opinion than he had " been pleased to profess he entertained for " him) recalled to his mind, upon this oc- " casion, Bottom the weaver, who playing " the part of Lion in pageantry before the " court, and being excessively apprehensive " least he should cause any alarm, when he " makes his appearance in his lion's hide, " pops his head through a hole in the neck, " and says, " don't be alarmed, for I who " act Lion am not Lion, but Bottom the " weaver, don't be frightened, an if you " were frighted, 'twere pity o'my life, I'll " roar ye as gently as any sucking lamb "— " The learned gent. who had just sat down, " had expressed his disbelief of the existence " of any unconstitutional influence exer- " cised by irresponsible persons, and con- " troling the responsible ministers. This " influence, however, was felt early in the " present reign, denounced first by my Lord " Chatham, and he believed the public was " well convinced it did exist—a mysterious " and malignant power whose hand, felt, not " seen, had stabbed the constitution to the " heart.——But, of all the many curious " circumstances which had attended the " progress of this bill, nothing appeared to " him more curious than the conduct of mi- " nisters about it: they were not for it, and " they were not against it: to the court " they apologized for themselves, saying— " " We are not against it, because it will do " you no harm:" to the people, " We are " not strongly for it, because it will do you " no good; we do not wish to delude you, " the measure is trifling, (nugatory, said the " Secretary at War,) it would be deceiving " and raising the expectation of the people, " only to disappoint, it; it would afford them " no relief." Now, he perfectly agreed as " to the inadequacy of the measure—the " smallness of the boon; but, it was a com- " mencement of reform, it acknowledged " the principle—the necessity; and there- " fore, he should vote for it. He would " also observe, that it was the last drop that " made the cup to overflow; that the peo- " ple were full of grievances and sufferings, " tossing and tumbling on the bed of sick- " ness; that they at present turned their " anxious eyes towards that house for " relief—that they should beware how " they disappointed them, and turned " their eyes elsewhere in despair.—— " But, it seemed, that ministers objected " to a measure so inadequate, so paltry, not " worth the people's acceptance. They " had better stomachs for reform—wanted " something more substantial. He sup- " posed they wished for some independent " country member to get up and propose " that the ancient undoubted right of the " people to annual parliaments, chosen by " themselves, should be restored—or that " no person bribed, or who should be brib- " ed by a place or pension should have a " seat in the Commons House—that the " good old laws of the land, Magna Charta, " Bill of Rights, and Act of Settlement, " should be restored, by repealing all those " unconstitutional acts which had nearly " annihilated them; or some other propo- " sition worthy to be entertained by an " English House of Commons.—He could " not set down without expressing his as- " tonishment at the quarter from whence " the opposition to this very moderate mea- " sure came,—from those who, for doing " nothing, had received and were receiving

* See Cobbett's Parliamentary History of England, Vol. II p. 35.

"large sums of public money, who ought "to have been the very last to oppose it, or "rather, who ought to have been amongst "its most chearful patrons and promoters— "even though actuated by no other motive "than that which guided every prudent "tradesman, and made him consider pre- "sent security, as well as future gain. "He would, and with no unfriendly voice, "call upon those persons to consider, whe- "ther, by their opposition to this bill of "Reversion, they might not produce bills "of Resumption; whether they might not, "by opposing this small commencement of "reform, cause themselves speedily to hear "sounds the most unpleasant, he should "suppose, to their ears—for he would "have them recollect, that it was not the "first time in the history of this country "that the necessity of the times, and the "indignation of the public, had echoed "through the land *resume* and *refund*."

"Mr. Windham did not think that the measure of abolishing Reversions would be so productive of advantage to the people as was supposed. The assertion of the hon. baronet, that it would be the commencement of reform, was to him no recommendation of it, knowing, as he did, the dreadful dangers which might ensue from misguided attempts at reformation, of which we had had sufficient examples in a neighbouring country. As to the corruption that was so generally asserted to exist among the higher orders, he contended that that corruption existed in an equal degree in the lower, and that the tree struck its root as deep into the earth as it elevated its branches into the air."——After Mr. Windham came, it appears from the report, Mr. Sheridan: but, I can hardly believe, that the speech attributed to him ever fell from his lips. He has astonished me many times, but, that he should make the speech, which has been published under his name, is quite incredible. He spoke with great *warmth*, too, the reporters tell us. It was represented to me, only a few days ago, that he was *ill*; and really, if this report be correct, I am afraid that the representation was but too well founded. But, it is impossible. He never could have uttered the words. No; not even Mr. Sheridan could have made such a speech.——The words, published as his speech were these:——"Mr. Sheridan could not be provoked to say a word at so late an hour, by any thing but the extraordinary positions which he had just heard from his right hon. friend. What! all corruption in the state was to be found only at the root! The people were the root, and from the people then sprung up all corruption! He must beg his right hon. friend to recollect that he had successively represented such a variety of places, whether the county of Norfolk, Norwich, St. Mawe's, or Higham Ferrers, that even a memory like his, and such a known acquaintance with the constitution of parliament, could not well enable him to say of what place he was really the representative. His right hon. friend had chiefly insisted, that the root of corruption was to be traced only to the people. He would contend the very contrary. It was government that was the seducer; the people the seduced. The present question would put it to the test; and if his right hon. friend's principles were to be adhered to, it would only prove, that the drippings of the top of the tree were the real cause of the blighting of the branches, and the corruption of the root. Where root, branches, &c. were undermined, could any fair fruit be after expected to blossom from such a ground?"——Now, how the reporter could insert this appears to me to be astonishing. It was an answer to Mr. Windham, but it answered what he did not say. He said, that corruption had gone as far amongst the poor as it had gone amongst the rich; as far amongst the low as amongst the high; that the tree of corruption had shot as far downwards as it had shot upwards, a figure perfectly corresponding with the well-known observation respecting the oak, that its tap root penetrates exactly as far into the earth as its topmast twig mounts into the air. As to the truth of the proposition, which this figure was meant to illustrate or embellish, that is another matter; but, if Mr. Sheridan did give the answer, which is here imputed to him, he must have been out of the house when Mr. Windham spoke; for, if he had been disposed so glaringly to misrepresent a member's word, he could not have ventured to do it, knowing that the misrepresentation must be perceived by every one who heard him. Did Mr. Windham say, that corruption "sprang up solely from the people?" No. He did not say, that it sprang up from the people at all. He said, that the tree had shot as far downwards as it had upwards; but, he said nothing about the *seed*, or about who had sown the seed. Now, as to the fact, let any one look at *Honiton* and hundreds of places that could be named, and deny, if he can, that the corruption has shot as far downwards as it has upwards. Let any one look at the election of Alexander Davison; nay, let any one look at the number of votes, which were obtained, upon a late occasion, for a person,

whom it is needless now to name. These, if we had not thousands of others, are quite sufficient proofs of the truth of Mr. Windham's assertion. In fact, it is only because the electors are corrupt, that corruption prevails at all. If they were to do their duty, there would not exist the food for corruption to feed upon.——I imagine, I could easily point out the reason why Mr. Sheridan chose, upon this occasion, to post himself up, as it were, for an advocate of *reform*. Yes, I could easily assign a cause for this wonderful ebullition of popular spirit. But, he may rest assured, that the persons, whom he had in his eye, even if they had now another opportunity of making a choice, would convince him, that they are not easily to be led to alter their minds, as to any part of his conduct or character. It well became him, indeed, to talk about St. Mawe's and Higham Ferrers! His election and his riding in the dirt-covered car with Sir Samuel Hood, were, one would have thought, sufficient to have induced him to say nothing about elections; and, as to *sinecure places*, it is well-known that he has now, or lately had, a pretty good one (I suppose it has come back to him upon the death of Lord Lake); it is also well known, that the Whig ministry was scarcely formed, when he obtained for his son a sinecure worth three thousand pounds a year, that son receiving at the same time, pay as a captain in the army; it is also well known, that he asked for himself the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster, another sinecure place worth three thousand a year, and that he asked it for life too. In fact, men more greedy of the public money than himself and his son, it is, I think, impossible to find, even in this country, at this time. He has always been hunting after place, which is very well, perhaps, but, then, he should never attempt to play the part of the disinterested man. ——It is odd enough to hear him expressing his *indignation* at Mr. Windham's defence of sinecure places; he, who is a sinecure placeman, and would have been, if he could, a double-handed sinecure placeman, and whose son (of whom he is so proud, as he told the electors of Westminster) was, as long as the ministry would permit him to be so, a sinecure placeman, the place having been obtained by the means of the father. Mr. Windham is no sinecure placeman; he never, in his life, pocketted a farthing of the public money; he must, therefore, have spoken from principle; and, though I differ with him in opinion, as to sinecure places, cannot help respecting him for the manly declaration of his sentiments. If every man would, like him, *speak out*, we should always know what we had to trust to. He says plainly, that he disapproves of any attempt to reform the parliament; he acknowledges that corruption exists; he wishes it did not; but, he tells us, that, in his opinion, the remedy would be worse than the disease. Let no man suppose, that he has not *reasons* to give in support of this opinion. It is our business to combat those reasons, and not to abuse him for entertaining the opinion, or for acting upon that opinion, until it be proved to be erroneous. At any rate, he is not an enemy to be hated, who speaks out; who acts without disguise; who scorns all subterfuge, and who is willing to run the risk of defeat.——It will not be forgotten, that this advocate of reform, never talked about reform, *while he himself was in place*. Before and after, but not during that time, when he had the power to speak with effect. It has been the same, with regard to all the other subjects, which, from time to time, he has taken up. There have always been some means found out of mollifying and silencing him. During the last session of parliament, he *talked about* a bill respecting the powers of the police magistrates; he gave notice of his intention to propose such a bill. Now we hear no more of it; and no more of it we shall hear, unless a similar motive should again animate the patriotic proposer.——It must have surprized a great many people to see Mr. Sheridan thus turn upon Mr. Windham all of a sudden. His friendship is like that of a cat. He will purr about you for a long while together; but, by-and by, when you least expect it, he gives you a scratch. He now appears to be purring to Sir Francis Burdett, the man by the means of calumniating whom he gained the support of the friends of Sir Samuel Hood; the man against whom chiefly the speeches and toasts at all his election dinners, during the first contest, were levelled; the man, in short, whom the Whigs sought to destroy by all the means that malice could invent and baseness execute. This purring, however, will not succeed; and, therefore, if Mr. Sheridan be wise, he will make the best that he can of a steady attachment to his old party.

India Affairs.——The recent intelligence from India, or, "our Empire in the East," is of a gloomy complexion, in my sight, only inasmuch as it gives an account of the loss of a great number of English officers and soldiers. It may serve to make men reflect justly on the nature of the wars we carry on in India; and may lead them to the conclusion, so much to be desired, name-

ly, that the possession of that country is a terrible evil. This, it seems, is to be *the last* war; but, we have been told the same thing for more than thirty years past. There is a constant, a never-ceasing war in India. There is not always actual fighting; but, there are always going on preparations for fighting. What right, in God's name, what right have we to do this? How is it possible for us to justify our conduct, upon any principle of morality? Conquests in India are not at all necessary either to our safety or our comfort. There is no glory attending such conquests and their accompanying butcheries. We must be actuated by a sheer love of gain; a sheer love of plunder. I really believe, that the history of the whole world does not afford an instance of a series of aggressions so completely unjustifiable and inexcusable. ——But, the Indian branch makes a considerable part of our *political* system. These colonies, on the other side of the globe, have no small share in the decision of all questions relative to us here at home. The East-India interest is *embodied*, and it is always held in the hands of the minister of the day. The East-India adventurer is enriched by money paid out of the taxes raised here, and that money he frequently employs for the purpose of obtaining the power of taxing us, for facilitating which employment the borough system is most admirably calculated. If corruption at elections were prevented, if the laws relating to elections were obeyed; if the constitution of England were adhered to, there would be little danger from combinations of any sort. If those who pay the greater part of the taxes were all to have their free voice; and if the qualifications were such as the law intended them to be; if no man having alien interests, and being exposed to no temptation to swerve from his duty, which duty, supposing him to be properly qualified, would have a perfect coincidence with his interest; if such were the state of the representation, (and such the constitution of England means it should be,) the nation would be in no danger whatever of seeing either its honour or its interest sacrificed to such bodies as the East-India Company; but, while things continue in their present state, it is impossible, that such sacrifices should not be made.——It is said now, that some regulations will be adopted, in India, for the purpose of conciliating the natives, and especially for the purpose of preventing any future attack upon their religious prejudices. This alludes to the *whisker shaving* affair, which was, indeed, a notable instance. But, the Indians knew only one half of the story; and, if they had been informed, that we were putting whiskers upon the faces of Englishmen, they might, perhaps, have taken the thing more quietly. If they could have seen whisker Mellish riding in a dog-cart to and from the Brentford election, they might, perhaps, have profited from so striking an example of complaisance. This man exceeded, in that way, any one I ever heard of, in this or any other country. He put a pair of most odious bunches of hair upon his face; he disfigured himself; he voluntarily rendered himself ugly, and, to all appearance, for no reason whatever except that of paying his court to those, who preferred the look of a German to that of an Englishman! Here, ye slaves of Hindostan! Behold this example, and repent of your refractory behaviour! —— It would seem, that delegated rulers in "our Eastern Empire," are really alarmed at the threats of Napoleon, and are making preparations for defence, on the side of Persia. That is good. I wish to see them upon the alert. It will bring on the desired result. It will hasten that result; and will make it as certain as if Buonaparte himself were to enter India with an army. And here I must observe, how abominably cowardly our language respecting the French is. We appear to be more afraid of six Frenchmen than of thirty millions of Indians. When we are beaten, or in danger of being beaten in India, we always ascribe it *to the French.* Like the fellow in one of Goldsmith's plays, "go where we will we find the Parlez vous;" and always are we, upon land, most dreadfully afraid of him. As to India, we are not at all ashamed to acknowledge, that, if the French could throw in a trifling force of their own, or, even a body of military officers only, we should soon be driven out of the country. We never hear the French expressing such terrible apprehensions at the influence of English military officers. These apprehensions of our India rulers are, however, by no means unfounded; for, if the French should get but a mere footing, they will very soon overset a company of as comfortable sovereigns as the world ever saw.

PORTUGAL.——The situation of Portugal, respecting which I have, in another part of this number, inserted an account, is truly shocking; but, it is no other than what I expected and foretold. Portugal cannot exist, in the present state of its agriculture, without importation.——It is stated, that an application was made, in the latter end of last month, to our admiral Sir Charles Cotton, by General Junot, to suffer some provisions

to come into Lisbon to prevent the people from starving, and that Sir Charles has sent home for instructions. I think, I should not have sent home. The chief object of the Orders in Council, and of the blockades, was *to produce distress* in France, and in all the countries under her controul. This is the immediate object of preventing provisions from going into a besieged town. But, there is, in the latter case, a consequent object, and that is, the surrender of the town by the enemy. Now, though no state of distress, no ravages of famine, could, perhaps, be reasonably expected to induce the French to evacuate Portugal, and, if they were to do it, we could not take possession and hold it; yet, a sort of capitulation might have been made. The French might have been required to yield something. The worth of the plunder, for instance, which they have made upon English subjects. They might have been required to give up or drive out the Russian fleet. This may, perhaps, be done yet; but, the sooner the thing had been done the better. I am aware of the horrors of famine. I hear the cries of humanity in favour of a starving people; but I hear them also in a town besieged; and I never yet heard of town in that state being supplied by the besieger. I shall be told, may be, that the Portuguese are our old friends and allies; and so were the Dutch; and so were the Russians. Portugal now belongs to France; two millions and a half of people have submitted to her authority; the ports and resources of Portugal are now arrayed against England. This being the case, we must consider the Portuguese as enemies. Amongst the effects of the Orders in Council, I always counted greatly upon the *distress* to be produced in all the countries dependant upon France, and especially upon the starving of Spain and Portugal. Now, though I feel sorrow that Portugal should have so acted as to bring herself into a state of starvation; I cannot say that I am sorry that starvation has been the consequence. I should be sorry that a peculator should have so acted as to bring himself to the gallows; but, I could not say that I was sorry that he had been hanged. ——Terrible as the effect of our power is, in Portugal (and it will soon have, I should think, a like effect in Spain,) it cannot fail to be attended with advantages to Europe in general. The example is, indeed, dreadful; but it will be the more efficacious. It will tend to convince the yielding nations, that there is something still more to be dreaded than the armies of France. The greediness of trade has, until now, prevented us from making the true use of our naval power. Napoleon having, by his commercial decrees, cut off our trade, we have been driven to do that which wisdom long ago pointed out to us.——Portugal will now, instead of an additional weapon in the hand, be a mill-stone about the neck of France. The fate of that wretched country will teach the people of Europe, that there is a boundary to the power of Napoleon. He himself cannot but feel, that it must tend to render him odious, to cause his name to be hated and cursed, and to render his sway of precarious duration. All these, Mr. Roscoe, and not your Lauderdale negociations, and petitions from Liverpool, lead to a secure and lasting peace.

SPAIN.——A very confused account (inserted below from the news-papers) of an insurrection in Spain shews, I think, clearly, that the last remaining branch of the House of Bourbon has not many months to enjoy even the name of regal authority. That infatuation and imbecility, which have, in all the other countries of the continent, paved the military road of the conqueror, seem to have worked double tides in the monarchy of Spain. It is not long since we saw the king accusing his son of being engaged in a conspiracy against his life; and, it is pretty generally asserted, that the queen had as little of constancy as the king had of sense. Profligacy and extravagance in the Royal family; base peculation in the nobles; and a total want of public-spirit in the people, who are, to say the best of them, as corrupt as their rulers: these are the causes of the present distracted state, and of the approaching subjugation, of Spain; and, let no man hope, that similar causes will not, in every country where they prevail, produce, first or last, similar effects. Riches, luxury, corruption, cowardice, passive submission at home, subjection to a foreign foe: this, the history of the world tells us, is the invariable progress; and, I am afraid, that it tells us besides, that a nation, once deeply corrupted, never yet regained its purity, without feeling the scourge of a conqueror, or passing through the fire of revolution.——In the approaching change in Spain, I, therefore, see nothing to regret. It appears to be impossible, that the people can be placed in a state more wretched and degraded than they now are. Let us endeavour, let us Englishmen, each according to the utmost of his means, make an effort, at least, to prevent a similar fate from befalling our country; for, we may be well assured, that, in the immutable decrees of Providence, there is no article containing an exception in favour of us.

AMERICAN STATES.——My querulous

correspondent, the "American merchant "of New Br a l Street," has sent me another letter, which I have inserted, and, upon one part of which only I shall make any observation. He says, in answer to my question, so often repeated, that he would *not* give up the right of searching for seamen; but, that he would take care to *prevent abuse in the exercise of it*; and this is all, as he understands, that the American president asks for. If he does really understand this, his understanding must, I should suppose, have been asleep, for some months past; for, we learn, from the correspondence between Lords Holland and Auckland and Mr. Canning, that our negociators went as far as they could possibly go in assurances that *all abuse* in the *exercise* of the right should be effectually prevented. But, this is not all. The king, in his proclamation upon the jubject, strictly enjoins and commands all his officers to exercise this right of search with the *least possible degree of inconvenience* to the ships, which they judge it necessary to search. Well, what *more* are we to do? It is impossible to do any thing more, without doing away the right as to all its practical utility. And, observe, that this proclamation, so far from having satisfied the Americans, is, in all their newspapers, on both sides, stated to be the *sole* cause of the non-importation act being put into force, and the *chief* cause of the embargo.——Having entered upon this subject, I will now state a most curious and interesting fact, relating to the embargo, which was omitted last week. It appears from the Charleston (South Carolina) city gazette of the 16th and 17th of February last, that a "*large num-*"*ber of British subjects, seamen in the* "*American ships,*" went, on the 15th of that month, in a body, to the English Consul, at that port, and requested him to give them *relief*, or *employment*. Now, then, where are the Morning Chronicle and its correspondent A. B. to affect a laugh at the idea of many of our seamen being on board the American ships? This is a most unfortunate fact for those gentlemen, as well as for the American negociators, who have invariably asserted, that the number of English sailors on board of the American ships was not worth notice, and that the men taken out of them by our searchers were, almost in all cases, Americans. Whence, then, did this "large number" spring at Charleston?——This is a very curious effect of the embargo. That self-blockade was adopted to prevent us from taking our seamen out of American ships; and, one of the effects of it has been to make those seamen voluntarily withdraw themselves from their ships, which has, at the same time, furnished us with a proof of the falsehood of the allegations, upon which they founded their demand of a surrender of our right of search.——The Morning Chronicle, of the 13th instant, has made an extraordinary display of its understanding upon a matter connected with the embargo, but which connection it does not appear to have perceived. ——It publishes a proclamation of the king, dated on the 11th instant, which it prefaces with the following sagacious remark. "We "understand that the following proclama-"tion by the king in council has been is-"sued. It is another proof that the sys-"tem which has been so rashly adopted is "found to be *impracticable*; and, there-"fore, day by day, *relaxations* of the prin-"ciple *are forced* upon ministers."—— Now, what, reader, should you imagine was this "*proof*" of the "impracticability" of the Orders in Council system? What should you imagine was this *relaxation*, *forced* upon the ministers?" Read the proclamation, and then admire the profound ignorance of this oracle of the Whig politicains. "GEORGE R.— Instructions to the "commanders of our ships of war and pri-"vateers. Given at our court at Windsor, "the 11th day of April, in the 48th year "of our reign.—Our will and pleasure is, "that you do not interrupt any neutral ves-"sel laden with *lumber and provisions*, and "going to any of our colonies, islands, or "settlements, in the West-Indies, or South "America, to whomsoever the property "may appear to belong, and notwithstand-"ing such vessel *may not have regular clear-*"*ances and documents on board*, and in "case any vessel shall be met with, and be "in her due course to the alledged port of "destination, an indorsement shall be made "on one or more of thy principal papers of "such vessel, specifying the destination al-"ledged, and the place where the vessel was "so visited. And in case any vessel so laden "shall arrive and deliver her cargo at any "of our colonies, islands, or settlements "aforesaid, such vessel shall be permitted "to receive her freight, and to depart, "either in ballast, or with any goods that "may be legally exported in such vessel, "and to proceed to any unblockaded port, "notwithstanding the present hostilities, *or* "*any future hostilities which may take place*; "and a passport for such purpose shall be "granted to the vessel by the governor, or "other person, having the chief civil com-"mand in such colony, island or settle-"ment."—— Now, one would have

thought, that no one at all conversant in the maritime affairs of the world, could have failed to perceive in this proclamation, *an offer made to the American merchant ships to trade with the English West-Indies in spite of the embargo.* Yet, I'll warrant you, that it never entered into the noddle of this gentleman, that the order to our commanders to dispense with the production of "*regular* "*clearances* and documents" could have any such meaning. A very poor noddle has he! The American ships (the *only neutral* ships now in the world) are, observe, all *embargoed*; that is to say, they lie in their ports under a positive law, forbidding them, under heavy penalties, to go thence to any other port or country in the world. To offer them a free passage, then, to the West-Indies, or to any other part, would have been a pure absurdity upon any other supposition than that of their setting the embargo law at defiance. The law permits them to go from one *American port* to *another American port* as often as they please; and, as I stated in my last Register, they had, in some cases, as was asserted in their newspapers, taken advantage of this exception to run off to Jamaica with a cargo. But, there was some danger in this; because, if met by any of our cruizers, they would be liable to be siezed, seeing that they could not possibly have any other than their *coasting* clearance on board. To secure them against this danger, the present proclamation provides, that, if they *say* that they are bound to our settlements in the West Indies, or South America, they shall not be interrupted, and that one of their papers shall be endorsed by the English commander who may visit them, specifying the alledged destination and also the place where visited by him. This secures their going to one of our settlements; because, if met again, and *out of the track*, they are siezed. ——Having thus invited them out to sea, and secured their arrival in our own colonies, the proclamation next provides for their having due encouragement to take away the produce of those colonies; and, for this purpose, allows them to go with such produce to any part of the world, except to a port blockaded by us. And this the noddle of the Morning Chronicle has conceived to be a "*relaxation* of the Orders in Council sys-"tem, *forced* upon the ministers!" Let us try an instance in detail. JONATHAN SLYBOOTS lies with his brig, the "Fair American," embargoed in the port of Boston. There are his brothers Ezra and 'Zekiel and Natty, and his cousins to the third generation, all his seamen, lounging about for want of employment. Sugar and Molasses and Rum are mounted up to double price, while lumber and fish and pork are sunk to half price. "I vow," says Jonathan, "I'll not "'bide here." He buys a cargo of lumber and provisions, to the custom-house he goes as bold as a lion, and there he demands and obtains a clearance for Norfolk or Wilmington or Charlestown or Augusta. He is on board at three strides, up goes the anchor, and off goes the Fair American for Jamaica, leaving the embargoed crews, whose master has less enterprize than hers, to eat molasses and to drink rum at double price, while they themselves have no pay. She is met by one of our cruizers at sea; but, upon alledging that she is going to Jamaica, her papers are endorsed, and she is suffered to pass.—Thus, our islands obtain provisions and lumber.—"Well now," says Jonathan, "I vow, you, "Governor man, I don't like to go back just "yet. I'll go to those Frenchmen's coun-"try with a cargo of coffee." In he takes it, and away he goes to France. If he be met by one of our cruizers, he has the passport of the Governor of Jamaica to show; if he be met by a French cruizer, I'll trust to Jonathan's ingenuity to convince him that he took in his cargo at Martinico; which ingenuity will also serve his turn when he comes into Bourdeaux or Havre-de-Grace.—Thus, we make the enemy consume our colonial produce, while we prevent neutrals from carrying him any from his own colonies.—And this the Morning Chronicle calls a "*relaxation* of the Orders in Council sys-"tem, *forced* upon the ministers!" Oh, thou blind guide! Thy printer's devil understands as much of these matters as thou dost. Well, but what will Jonathan do next? Perhaps, by this time, the embargo fit is off; for he has now been four months from home; and, if that be the case, he will laugh at the Congress and the law. Perhaps, though, the fit is not off. Well, it is little matter, either way, for he may sell the "Fair American," or give her away, his voyage having cleared much more than the worth of her. But, Jonathan will do no such thing. From France he will clear out for Martinico again, and, with the Governor of Jamaica's passport, well let into one of the planks of the brig, he will come through our cruizers to London or Liverpool. There he will take in a cargo for Boston; his clearance will carry him through our fleets and cruizers, and he will stand the chance of smuggling in his cargo. Once *out* at sea, however, in the first instance, he may follow what course he pleases, as long as he takes care to obey the English proclamations and Orders in Coun-

l; but, the longer the embargo continues, e greater will be the temptation to smuggle cargoes from England. One lucky hit ill, in that case, make a man's fortune.—ven if "*future hostilities*," that is to say, *ar with America*, should break out, Jonahan may go right back home with his coffee and rum and molasses, if he chooses; nd thither he will go too, when the scarcity becomes great, in spite of all the acts hat the Congress are able to pass.——This proclamation is a very wise measure. It is calculated to meet the event of war, at the ame time that it exactly suits this state of emi-warfare, in which, by the folly of the American government, we are now placed with that country.——And this is what the Morning Chronicle calls "*relaxation* of the "Order in Council system, *forced* upon the "ministers!"

CURATES' STIPEND BILL.——I have time only to say, that I most heartily wish this bill success. It was defeated by the late ministry, who could have had no other object in view, than that of pleasing the owners of livings. Mr. Perceval has always been respected by me on account of this bill; and, his persevering in it, *through all situations*, places him in striking contrast with the apostate patriots, to whom he has been opposed in politics, and who have, to a man, broken their promises, the moment they got possession of the power of fulfilling them.—— This, indeed, is a step in the way of *real reform* ——Some one expressed a desire to have *two debates* upon the principle of this bill; but, if there were to be two thousand speeches, and if *all* the speakers were opposed to it, they never would make one man of sound sense believe, that it is just towards a parish to give its clerical revenues to a man, whose face it never sees, while he who really performs all the duty that is performed receives not more than two thirds of the amount of the wages of a journeyman mechanic.

Botley, 14th April, 1808.

PORTUGAL.

Famine has visited the wretched Portuguese.—At the date of the last advices, the 22d ult. hundreds, it is said, were lying dead in the streets of Lisbon. What, however most decisively proves the extent of the evil, is this, that General Junot sent out a flag of truce (the fact is without a doubt) with a deputation to Sir Charles Cotton, at the head of which was M. Michael Setard, a respectable Portuguese, to supplicate (the precise term used) the Admiral to suffer some provisions to come into Lisbon, to save the people from perishing. Though Sir Charles was convinced of the reality of the alledged scarcity, yet he thought, it seems, a compliance with such a request beyond his powers, and therefore dispatched the Coquette for precise instructions.—Various letters have been received descriptive of these horrors; the following is from one of the gentlemen appointed to the deputation, and was written before he set off:—"Lisbon, March 21, 1808.—I have only time to inform you of my having been authorised, with several others, by this government, to proceed to the English fleet, now blockading our port, for the purpose of prevailing on Admiral Cotton to permit provisions to be brought hither, as we are absolutely on the eve of a famine. Under these dreadful circumstances we rely on the humanity and liberality of a generous nation, and we trust that his excellency will commiserate the distressed situation of the inhabitants of this devoted city and its environs, and grant liberty for provisions to enter the port, otherwise we must literally starve, Should we succeed in the object of our mission, it will revive the drooping spirits of the people, and save the lives of thousands and ten of thousands, who otherwise must meet their fate in the worst and most terrible of all deaths—a death from hunger."

SPAIN.—INSURRECTION.

Madrid, 19th March, nine o'clock at night.—Since Sunday the 13th inst., such important events have taken place, that the hurry in which I write will not allow me to arrange them in a proper order. Certain intelligence having been received of the Emperor of France coming here, it was asked on the part of the King, and at the request of the Admiral (the Prince of Peace), what was the object of his journey, and whither his troops were directed to march?—The answer was, that he came in a peaceable manner, for the good of the nation, and to make a Prince happy. The King, with his natural simplicity, and with great satisfaction, shewed this letter to the Admiral, who being immediately aware of the blow which threatened him, prepared to make arrangements to escape to Mexico, taking with him the King, whom he succeeded in persuading to follow him, apprizing him with what they had to fear from the arrival of the Emperor and his troops; and for this purpose the Admiral took out of the royal chest 36 millions of rials —In the course of last month, he had sent already 60 millions to Corunna, which were destined for Lendon, where he has 40 millions of dollars. On Wednesday

he arrived in Madrid, and withdrew on Sunday, in the evening, according to his usual custom, to Aranjuez. As soon as he arrived there, he called a meeting of the council, in which the flight of their Majesties were discussed. — The following day (Monday), early in the morning, the signatures of the three principal persons were collected, and when Cavellero's turn came, he said that he did not chuse to sign, nor should he allow them to do what they intended. The King represented to him in the most earnest manner the danger in which they found themselves; the general discontent of the people of Madrid, demanded his head (as the Admiral had falsely made him believe). Cavellero said that there was no such thing, that all was false, and that he had been deceived.—The King immediately answered—Do they deceive me? Do they betray me? Who is the Traitor? —That is the gentleman, pointing to the Admiral, who drew his sword—The council immediately broke up. The principal party, consisting of Cavellero, the Prince, Altemire Fernando Nunes, who they say was wounded, as were most of the Grandees. This happened at night: at the noise the life guards entered, and among them the halbert-bearers; and soon afterwards the mob. The project, which was for some time only suspected, was ascertained by the orders given to the life guards.—On the following day (Monday) in the morning, the life guards took post on the road of Ocanna. The hall of the council and the whole of the palace presented a scene of popular tumult. Some of the guards cried out "kill him," others "seize him!" and some pointed the sword to his breast. The Prince Asturias clung to the Admiral, who placing himself between the troops with fixed bayonets, fled to his house, or concealed himself in the palace, and the queen to her apartment. On Wednesday in the evening, a mail arrived, with an order for the garrison of Madrid to assemble and prepare to march. At 7 o'clock at night the bearers of those orders went to all the coffee-houses, and wherever they found officers or guards, directed them to join their corps, and through the whole town the carriages and horses were put into requisition. The troops remained all day in their quarters, which none of them were on any account permitted to leave, and much fermentation was observed among the people. And it was a matter of joy to them to go to the house of the Admiral, to see that he had no longer a guard of hussars. The council of Castille met the same day, and continued in deliberation from ten in the morning until four in the afternoon, to answer the two questions of the King, whether he should leave the country, and whether his people were disturbed: to which questions the reply was, that he ought not to leave the country, nor would they allow him to do so. That the people were quiet and loved him, as he might himself see, if he would come to Madrid. This and the whole of the preceding day, nothing but complaints, clamours, and farewells, were heard in Aranjuez, because the king entertained the project of departing, until two in the afternoon, when a courier aarived from Napoleon, assuring him that he came with pacific intentions. This intelligence was immediately promulgated, and the lamentations were converted into shouts of joy, congratulations, and embraces throughout all Aranjuez. The patriarch returned home full of joy, exclaiming, "nothing is the matter, every thing is settled, go and make it public, let every one know." At half past eleven o'clock the same day, five loaded waggons passed through Aranjuez. Silva and Don Vicente arrived and brought the news, and a courier dispatched by Cavallero brought it to government, with a charge to proclaim as soon as it should reach Delicias, "All is settled, I am the bearer of good news, and of the orders for the troops to depart."—At midnight all the king's guards, the admiral's hussars, the volunteers of the state, and the cavalry with loaded carbines and pistols, and the artillery with lighted matches were on duty.—Yesterday (Thursday), in the morning, the annexed edict was posted, intended to undeceive and tranquillize the people; but at the same time, it was well known, that the admiral was neither apprehended nor disgraced, as had been reported. On the contrary, on the Tuesday, the royal family breakfasted at his house, and on the following day he was at the palace, which grieved every body, and the inhabitants of Aranjuez continued much disturbed. Last night the admiral withdrew from the palace at eleven o'clock, and at one attempted to escape. The life guards observed it, approached, and having ascertained the fact, fired a pistol, at which signal the rest of the guards assembled, and a throng of people endeavoured to force their way through the admiral's hussars who surrounded his house. Some of the life guards were killed, and Don Diego Godoy (the admiral's brother), who was at the head of his regiment of Spanish guards, ordered them to fire, but none obeyed. He repeated the order, when the people, and even his own soldiers fell on him, fired at him, beat him, and tied his hands and feet. The

disturbance became general, from a belief that the royal family (who were in bed) intended to escape. Forty life guards set off at full speed after the admiral, who had fled, and they succeeded in overtaking him, when they bound him, and took him to the palace at two o'clock; they came up with him at Ocanna. The princess of peace and her daughter they caused to alight, put them in a coach drawn by the peasantry, who conducted them to the palace, and delivered them to the prince, who came out to receive them with two candles in his hands.—This day, at 8 in the morning, our royal family appeared in the balcony of the palace, to thank the people. At 12, two decrees were posted up in Madrid, one of which addressed to the president of the council, is in substance as follows: —— "The king, in order to undeceive your "lordship and the council, and that the public may be correctly informed of what "occurred last night, makes known, that "in consequence of a disturbance between "some hussars and life guards, some military and peasants assembled induced by "an erroneous belief that their majesties "intended to leave the country, but their "majesties neither think of leaving the "country, nor have they ever thought for "a moment of withdrawing themselves "from the bosom of their beloved subjects; "that at five o'clock in the morning every "thing was quiet in the palace, and he "directs the president to make it known, "in order that the public may banish from "their minds all false reports," &c. &c.—The second decree recommends the public to hold good harmony and peace with the French troops, who are to pass through the capital and its environs, on their march to Cadiz.—This evening, the annexed manuscript decree was published, which levelled the Grand Colossus; such is the general joy and satisfaction of the public, that I doubt whether a general peace would cause a greater; and we all publicly congratulate each other. The public look upon the French without fear, without dread, and as their deliverers. The privates will be received at their quarters, and the officers at the mansions and dwellings of the great. Order is recommended.—To-morrow about 4000 will enter the city—the following day the imperial guard—and on Monday Prince Murat. General report says, that the emperor is detained by these occurrences, because letters from Bayonne and Yrun say, that he arrived there on the 12th, and others contradict it. La Manche is in a state of much confusion, and the people are determined to prevent the departure of the roya family, the intelligence of which had reached that province.

DECREES.

"Aranjuez, March 18, 1808.—As I in-"tend to command my army and navy in "person, I have thought proper to release "Don Manuel Godoy, prince of the peace, "from the employs of Generalissimo and "Admiral, and give him leave to withdraw "whither he pleases. You are herewith "informed of it, and will communicate it "to whom it concerns.—*To Don Francis "Gill.*"

Madrid Gazette, March 18, 1808.—His majesty has been pleased to transmit the following decree to his excellency Don Pedro Cevallos, First Secretary of State:—"My "beloved subjects! Your generous agita-"tion in these circumstances is a fresh proof "of the sentiments of your hearts, and I, "who love you as a tender father, take "the earliest opportunity to condole with "you in the distressed situation in which "we are placed. Be tranquil; know that "the army of my dear ally, the emperor of "the French, traverses my kingdom with "ideas of friendship and peace. Its object "is to march to the points which are "threatened with the danger of a descent "by the enemy, and the junction of my "life-guards has no other object than to "protect my person, and they are not in-"tended to accompany me on a voyage, "which malice endeavoured to represent as "necessary. Surrounded by the unshaken "loyalty of my armed subjects, of which "I have received such unquestionable "proofs, what have I to fear? and should "any imperious necessity require it, could "I doubt of the assistance which their ge-"nerous bosoms offered me? But no "such necessity will ever be witnessed by "my people.—Spaniards, allay your fears; "conduct yourselves as you have hitherto "done towards the troops of the ally of "your good king. In a few days you will "see peace and tranquillity restored; your "hearts and mine enjoying the happiness "which God bestows on me in the bosom "of my family and your love. Given in "my royal palace of Aranjuez the 16th "March, 1808.—By the King, A. D. "Pedro Cevallos."

CHALMERS ON NATIONAL RESOURCES.

Sir,——In a work which has lately appeared, entitled "An Enquiry into the Extent and Stability of National Resources," by the Rev. Thomas Chalmers, I see some of your own favourite speculations very much

extended, and set upon a footing different from any that has yet appeared. The train of reasoning appears to me to be most luminous and convincing, and calculated to establish a position which must prove in the highest degree consolatory in the present circumstances of the country, that the loss of trade so far from being a ground of alarm or despondency, leaves the nation fitter than ever for all the purposes of defence and political independence. The great principle of his argument seems to be founded upon the manner in which he conceives the population of a country to be distributed. There is first, an agricultural population employed in providing food. There is secondly, another division of the population employed in labouring for the other necessaries of common life. And there is, lastly, a remaining division, whose only employment is to administer to the luxuries of the wealthy, and to whom he gives the very significant name of the *disposable population.*——In his first chapter, he conceives the country to be secluded from all foreign intercourse. The disposable population lies at the mercy of those who are the proprietors of its maintenance. They can be withdrawn from any one employment to any other. If their employers chuse to dispense with their services in one line of industry, they can destroy their present employment, but then they can give them the same maintenance as before in some other more suited to the taste or circumstances of the country. The disposable population must accommodate to the demand of those who are vested with the ability of maintaining them. If this demand changes from one species of luxury to another, the disposable population must of course be translated from one species of manufacture to another. As the demand changes from luxury to defence, our original proprietors can withdraw their wealth from the purchase of luxuries altogether, and make over the price of them in the form of a tax to government. In this case, the disposable population must be thrown loose from their present employments, many manufactures must be annihilated, and great additional extent given to every department of the government service. While other writers are perpetually talking of the extension of manufactures, this author makes it out that from the ruin of the manufacturing interest, we can collect the means of adding to the power and resources of the nation.—In the second chapter, Mr. Chalmers discusses the subject of foreign trade. He proves that the disposable population employed in carrying on the different operations of foreign trade, are as completely under the controul of our inland consumers as the manufacturers for home consumption, and that the manufacturers of our exported articles derive all their maintenance from an antecedent ability that exists in the country. This has been most ably and satisfactorily proved by Mr. Spence, in his pamphlet entitled "Britain Independent of Commerce." But the argument derives new light from the peculiar cast of our author's speculations. Mr. Spence insists principally on the refuge which the people discarded from foreign trade, would have in the home manufactures of the country. Mr. C.'s mind seems to be more engrossed with public and national objects, and insists chiefly on the refuge which they might have in the extended branches of the government service.——In his third chapter he takes up the case of a country that derives part of its agricultural produce from abroad. He attempts to estimate the increase which this additional food, and additional population give to the resources of the country, and concludes that it is beyond all comparison insignificant, when contrasted with the addition which may be afforded by an equal part of our own natural population. The whole population subsisted upon foreign grain, bears a very small proportion indeed to the whole population of the country, and though all intercourse with other countries were suspended, there is enough in the agricultural resources of Britain, to make up instantly for the want of importation.—The fourth chapter treats of profit and capital. The income of the manufacturing capitalist is derived from the ability of the inland consumer, as well as the maintenance of the manufacturing labourer. Profit forms part of the price that is paid for the article, and though the manufactures of the country should be destroyed in consequence of some new change in the system of affairs, the ability still remains to uphold the labourer in his former comfort, and the capitalist in his former splendour and distinction.—The fifth chapter treats of productive and unproductive labour. He here attempts to expose the futility of this distinction, and to rest the usefulness of every species of labour upon the usefulness of its ultimate effects; it is of no consequence whether the enjoyment which we derive from any species of labour comes to us or not through the medium of a tangible and marketable commodity, it is enough for us that it administers to our enjoyment. The question of preference resolves itself intirely into a question of advantage; and that species of labour deserves to be most encouraged, which is found to

be most subservient to the purposes of usefulness. On this principle it is quite ridiculous to object to the extension of our military system, on the score of its withdrawing the population of the country from productive to unproductive industry. It only withdraws the population from the office of administering to our luxury, to the office of administering to our security. The enjoyment of security is balanced with the enjoyment of luxury; the one clearly outweighs the other, and the question is of course decided. —The sixth chapter treats of taxation. In the principles of this chapter, he may not be supported by your concurrence, or that of the generality of your readers. The course of his speculations leads him to give a decided preference to the income tax, though the modifications which he proposes serve to palliate, if not to remove the chief inconveniencies which have been alledged against it. —The next chapter treats of the effects of taxation on the labouring classes of the community. The author contends that the comforts of the peasantry cannot be permanently abridged by taxation, that a virtual exemption from all taxes is the necessary privilege of a labourer's condition; that any tax imposed upon labourers is in the long run infallibly made up to them by an advance in their wages; and that it is therefore unwise to hold out the shew of oppression to the lower orders of the community, when every tax which they appear to pay to government, is in fact paid by their masters and employers. He takes occasion when upon this subject to enter into considerable length on the compulsory service of government; and exposes in the strongest terms its cruelty, its impolicy, and its injustice.— His last chapter is employed in clearing away a number of difficulties and objections; and in his conclusion, he applies the principles of his performance to the question of peace or war; he attempts to ascertain how long a country may be able to maintain a warlike system, and what is the limit of its exertions; and arrives at this consolatory result, that the country was never at so great a distance from the limit of its exertions as at this moment, and never so prepared to embark in a war unexampled in its magnitude, and indefinite in its duration.——I am, &c.—W.

MR. WAKEFIELD'S 2D. LETTER.

SIR,——Upon the data, which I think I have pretty well established in my former letter, I will now proceed to consider,— *First*, Whether there exist at this moment any circumstances which as opposed to the fact, of our being a largely importing country, have a tendency to counterbalance the evil, and in any degree to secure us from those dangers to which I fear we are exposed.—*Secondly*, I will endeavour to trace out the cause or causes of our present situation, after which will arise the consideration, whether there exists a possibility of avoiding those dreadful consequences, with which I think we are threatened.——Could it be shewn, that we export provisions to an equal extent with our import of them, this would be one fact, counterbalanced by another; and one, not only consolatory, but perfectly satisfactory. The returns from the Custom-house, however, prove the contrary.——It is with pleasure, then, that I recollect, there does exist a resource of which the legislature might avail itself at a moment of dearth, famine, or any other extreme emergency; one which I am aware, should only be resorted to, with the greatest reluctance and caution; one that ought to remain unreduced and unimpaired, until the last moment, until the most dire and fearful necessity should call for its being expended or in any way diminished.—Alarmed as I am, for the reasons I stated to you in my former letter, I rejoice that we do possess a large and available grainery, that there is a consumption of corn, not strictly necessary to the existence of man; and to which, in a season of scarcity we could have recourse. I advert to the corn consumed by the distilleries, by the breweries, and by horses used only for pleasure. If ever the necessity should arise of making use of this resource to apply this luxuriant consumption of corn, for the necessary sustenance of man, it should be recollected, that it will be followed by the discouragement of the farmer. What can be a greater discouragement than the depriving him of such markets, as the distilleries, the breweries, and the maintainence of pleasure horses.— This discouragement will not be felt at the moment, but the evil consequences of it will be permanent, the fear of bad prices, and inadequate returns for his labour and capital, once excited in the mind of the farmer, will relax, if not destroy the spirit and life of enterprize and exertion; it will cause him to lessen the sums he had been accustomed to spend in agricultural improvement; he will manure less; he will be tempted to lay down his lands in haste, and, therefore, in an extremely bad state.—These evils will be continued ones; they are such as the legislature should never create, but when driven by the necessity of averting the pressure of an evil, so great and so dreadful, as famine. The demand which a farmer has for corn,

by reason of the distilleries, the breweries, and horses kept for pleasure, fortunately counteracts the ruinous effects of the importation of corn. It has been thought, by almost every one a matter of great wisdom, to annually purchase, or, to speak more correctly, to lay up an income, under the name of a Sinking Fund, which supports the national credit, by means of its reaction, against the millions which are yearly borrowed, and added to the national debt. If this is a wise measure in finance, must not the same policy be good in regard to human sustenance. We import a given quantity of provisions, this is bad enough in every sense for the country. In the grain consumed (as I have already described) in the distilleries, &c. we have a consumption within ourselves which we can stop, and make as much use of as if corn was laid up in a grainery. This is the only counteraction, of which I know, against the importation of corn; a counteraction of the utmost importance, and in as much as the proportion which this internal superfluous consumption bears to our import of grain, is larger than the proportion which the sinking fund bears towards the national debt, so much more important, and greater is the security of the country. I consider this as a comparison of which use may be fairly made. But, Sir, I cannot leave this part of the subject, without stating in the strongest terms the danger there would be to the country, by the most trifling admission of any thing leading to the conclusion, that any but the people of England should be permitted to consume, much less to expend the contents of this national grainery; this resource so truly the property of the public, who have made it so, by exciting the British farmer to create this produce by the encouragement which this profitable market has held out to him, in consequence of which he can supply the public with food, at a price attainable by all classes of the community. The instant the farmer shall be deprived of the demand created by the distilleries, &c. the corn which he has raised for the of purposes, will be thrown on the market ru sheman sustenance; then the fall of price will depress his enterprize, and damp his exertion. The necessary consequence will be, that his produce will shrink in proportion, will lessen as his prospects are darkened. This would be the case, even if the people of England themselves wanted, and urged by necessity availed themselves of this resource. Should then any body of men, either in or out of the kingdom be permitted to glut and ruin the market of the British farmer, for purposes of convenience or profit? Shall we for a moment think of thus discouraging our agriculture for the sake of any colonial advantage whatever? Shall we permit the colonies to say to the distiller, and the brewer, &c. you shall no longer consume the produce of the British soil; but, instead thereof, you shall consume the produce of our plantations; you shall enliven our enterprize and augment our gains; though at the expence of the mother country, and at the hazard of her suffering from scarcity, dearth, or even famine. This would be nothing less than giving a preference to present gain, over future wealth, prosperity, and safety. However consolatory to the public may be the knowledge of this resource, which is a counterbalance to the importation of corn, it is accompanied with an anxious conviction of the urgency and necessity of preserving and securing this resource, with the utmost jealousy and caution. It is a fund of subsistence, of which the country will never avail itself, but with the greatest circumspection and reluctance, and only on the utmost necessity. The possession of this fund is not to be put into comparison with any other public possession whatever; and the greater the danger arising from an importation of subsistence, the greater necessity of watching over, and augmenting this only source of reaction. This argument I make use of, upon the single ground of feeding the inhabitants of the United Kingdom. But, if I proceed, and consider this ruinous importation, and the possession of this resource, as they affect the wealth, the revenue, and the trade of the kingdom, every argument is strengthened, every circumstance is rendered more impressive and conclusive.—Recollecting the millions of British money, paid in the course of the last fifty years to foreign farmers; and feeling that the same produce might have been procured at home by expending these millions in England; I deprecate the system which has been pursued, and I call for the consideration of the public on this subject; not alone, upon the ground of necessity, but upon that of policy also, to guard against a system which if continued, will first impoverish, and then starve the country.——In another letter I will resume the subject of my first to you.—And am, Sir, yours, &c.—EDWARD WAKEFIELD.—*March* 24, 1808.

CORN IMPORTATIONS.

SIR,——The letter of Mr. Edward Wakefield, which appeared in your last Register, treats of a subject of such extreme importance, that it seems almost to be a duty incumbent upon every one, who differs from

m in opinion, to deliver his sentiments. If e observations I am about to offer are, in our judgment, worthy of notice, you will erhaps favour me by inserting them, when ou find it convenient to do so. You will, oubtless, have perceived that the whole rce of Mr. W.'s arguments depends upon a ertain account of exports and imports with hich he has furnished us, and which, I will ake for granted is correct. But, Sir, as he rofesses "to argue, not for the vanity of vic-ory," but "to discover truths, important to he best interests of our country," I am at a oss to conceive why he should have taken nto consideration our exports from 1777 to 804 only, which year, I believe, is not in-luded, whereas in considering our imports, e is very particular in giving us "the enor-nous quantity" imported from 1800 to 1806. n the former part of his letter he expressly entions the years 1800 and 1801 as years f dearth, and I am surprised that this cir-umstance should not have appeared to him sufficient reason for exporting so small a uantity as 5,400 qrs. during those and the wo following years. If his list of exports ad extended to the present time, it is very robable his alarms might have abated, and ave ceased to produce uneasiness in others, hich, at this time, is certainly desirable; hen clamours and disaffection are attempt-d to be raised in different parts of the king-om, which his statement has undoubtedly a endency to increase. The surest way of oming to a just conclusion on this subject, ppears to me to be this; viz. to ascertain he average quantity of wheat produced in he country one year with another; which ay be done, I conceive thus: It is gene-ally allowed that there are 50 millions of cres of land in a state of cultivation, one alf of which, from the general mode of griculture which is adopted, are arable. Now, Sir, of this half, again, I presume, it ill be readily granted me that one fourth part (I might say one third) is employed in he growth of wheat. If I am correct so far, we have, every autumn, about 6 millions of acres of wheat to reap, and, reckoning two qrs. only on each acre, we gather into our barns the "enormous quantity of 12 millions of qrs." Mr. Wakefield supposes, that the portion of the population in Great Britain, which is supported upon wheat, cannot exceed 8 millions; and, he adds, is seldom more than 7. You suppose them to be 11 millions. In the former case, if it be true, that on an average one individual with another who eats wheaten bread, consumes a quarter of wheat a year, we shall have 4 millions; in the latter one million to spare. I do not take upon me to assert that I am exact as to the number of acres employed in the growth of wheat, but I am very near the mark. At any rate the number of acres may be easily known, and pursuing the same mode, as I have done here, the average quantity of wheat may be also known.—— The present low price is a sure proof that there is a great abundance in the country. And I should be glad to know the quantities exported and imported during the last two years. Perhaps, Mr. Wakefield may inform us.—I am, Sir, &c.—D. H.

AMERICAN STATES.

SIR,——It was not my intention to trouble you or the public with any reply to the remarks you were pleased to make on my former letters, in your Register of 26th March, for as you pretty nearly gave up the point, as to the premiums of insurance, and the whole course of your observations respecting America proved, that you really do feel towards the United States, all the resentment that I had heard attributed to you; it seemed to me not very important, to the practical result, whether you had used the exact words, I was assured you did, and I am too little of a partizan, and too little accustomed to political controversy, to be disposed to continue the strife.—But the letter in your Register of the 9th inst. under the signature I., contains insinuations respecting my motives and arguments, of too malignant a nature to be suffered to remain unanswered. I am told that it would be to libel my feelings and principles, were he to designate me as a *British* American Merchant, and that I am the prejudiced advocate of America and France. If such is to be the language held towards an individual, who feels powerfully conscious that his motives are pure and upright, even if his opinions are mistaken; if every man, who doubts the wisdom or the equity of the decisions of the reigning ministry, is to be branded as a traitor to his country, and a retainer of the enemy; then, indeed, is the liberty of the press a mockery, then is that best part of our constitution, the force of public opinion, a perfect nullity, for no honest man can canvas the justice, or the policy of our political conduct towards foreign nations, without incurring the odium of being represented as a traitor. But, I re-

pel your correspondent's insinuations with disdain! I am, Sir, an *English* American merchant, which, unless I am mistaken, is more than he can say for himself. I love my country better than I love my own interest; I have children, who must stand or fall by my country; and it is only because, I have believed her to be doing an injustice to America, which I also believed, and still believe, was sought to be justified on grounds of misrepresentation; and, furthermore, because I believed our interests as a nation would suffer by that injustice, that I endeavoured to set you right on some points, which appeared to me to have a bearing on the subject. These were my only motives, and I own that I feel somewhat indignant at the foul and base insinuations, which your correspondent I. has thrown out respecting me.—My object was truth, and as I am convinced by I.'s letter, that I have been mistaken in saying that "the premiums *through* "the year 1807, up to the news of the af- "fair of the Chesapeake, were at peace "rates;" it is my duty thus publicly to admit my mistake; but, at the same time, it is fair I should be allowed to explain how I fell into it. After all, it is little more than the mistake of a month, and does not affect the argument; and your correspondent should be careful not to fall himself into mistakes, whilst he accuses me of them. Yet, he says, (p. 566) that we heard of the Berlin Decree about the latter end of January, 1807, when I have before me a London newspaper of December 9, 1806, giving the decree at full length. This gentleman has thus made no small mistake in point of time also; but, as I have no doubt he meant to quote correctly from his memory, I accuse him not of intentional misrepresentation, and I only ask the same civility for myself.—The fact is, (as I have now ascertained) the virtual suspension of that decree as to the Americans, (I mean Decrés's Letter) was known here in the latter end of January, 1807. Speaking from memory, I had supposed, when I wrote you my first letter, that this was known here the end of December, 1806; and recollecting, that in a few days afterwards, premiums did fall to their usual rates, I inadvertently used the words "through the year 1807," instead of "from the news of Decrés's letter to that of the affair of the Chesapeake."—The premiums your correspondent I. quotes, are assuredly higher than peace premiums, though not greatly so, when allowance is made for the season of the year, and the various quality of ships, which constantly affect the premium. In confirmation of this opinion, I find amongst our policies one of the 30th Jan. 1807, from Virginia to London at 4 guineas, which considering the season of the year, is so very little above the peace premium, that it is clear the alarm was fast subsiding; and I think it will turn out, that the insurance effected by I. in February, was very *early* in that month. His remark, that premiums kept up in America till April, is, I doubt, not true; but is only the obvious consequence of the length of time required to convey intelligence across the Atlantic. Your correspondent has recapitulated his arguments, suffer me briefly to recapitulate my facts.——The Berlin Decree was known here in December 1806. It was known here in January 1807, that the American Minister at Paris, has protested against the decree, as affecting American commerce, had been assured it should not be molested. Premiums of insurance, which unquestionably rose here greatly in this interval, fell very shortly after Decrés's letter was heard of, to peace rates, and so continued till July, when the affair of the Chesapeake was known.——The insidious questions put to Buonaparté by the French prize court, and his answers to which overturned Decrés's assurances, were not put till September, were certainly not known here till October, if even before November; but I cannot speak with absolute certainty to this point; the material thing is, that our Orders in Council were issued, before it was possible to know whether America would protest against the enforcement of the Berlin Decree or not. I think this is a fair summary of facts, and if it be admitted to be so, I think I have proved my former assertions to be essentially true.—Had we not issued these Orders in Council, I think America had now been at war with France. If, *therefore*, to wish we had not issued them, be an offence to my beloved country, I am indeed, "the most offending man alive."—On the extracts of letters from the continent produced by your correspondent I., I will only remark, that they all speak in general terms, without naming place, or ship; and, further, that I have never been able to learn distinctly, that any ship had actually been condemned in France, Spain, or Holland, previous to our Orders in Council. I stated a ship by name, that had been distinctly released after capture and trial, which is rather more to the point; and I seriously do not think there is any authentic advice in London, of an actual condemnation up to the period I have mentioned.—I have now done with your correspondent, and will take the liberty to say one word to you in reply to your question, in page 494,

Do you advise ministers to give up to Mr. Jefferson, the right of search for seamen?" I do not; but to abandon a right, and to exercise it without wrong, are two different matters. If the Americans insist on the unqualified abandonment, I fully agree, that we are bound to refuse it; but, I have understood distinctly, that all they desire, is to have this search so exercised, as to avoid the many acts of oppression, which they say are committed under its colour. If I state this incorrectly, it is not from a desire to mislead; but, because I think it to be the truth. ——I am, Sir, your humble servant,—AN AMERICAN MERCHANT.—*New Broad-street, April* 11, 1808.

AMERICAN STATES.

SIR,——I have read with a considerable degree of attention, all the articles that have appeared in your Register on the subject of America, during the last six months. Had your exertions in the cause, and for the honour of your native country, been confined to this one point, you would even then have been intitled to the thanks of every honest and dispassionate man; but, as your meritorious labours on this subject, form but a very small part of your works, this nation, in my opinion, owes you a debt of gratitude very nearly due to the conduct of an individual. In describing the frauds of American debtors, and the obvious bias which such men as the Barings have to sacrifice national honour to private interest, you have made out a very strong case in support of your arguments against commerce, though perhaps you carry your doctrines a little too far. I think commerce has become a curse to this country, from having been carried to too great an extent, to the prejudice of the more important interests of society; but such is the force of early impressions, and perhaps, you will say, prejudices, that though totally unconnected with trade myself, I cannot go quite as far as you do in reprobating it; but, at the same time, confess that every year's experience diminishes my estimation of its importance. We live in extraordinary times, Mr. Cobbett, so I am not much surprised to find the philanthropic Mr. Roscoe, indirectly advocating the cause of France; or, rather of Buonaparté; and Mr. Alexander Baring more openly acting as the advocate of America. This man has the effrontery to defend and plead for the Americans, telling us too, that they are naturally inclined to the side of France, as long as she is inferior to us at sea. His commerce so far stupified the understanding, or corrupted the principles of this political-mercantile gentleman, that he brings forward the friendly disposition of America towards France, as a reason that we should concede and truckle to his Transatlantic friends? He shews the cloven foot more plainly than A. B. of the Morning Chronicle. He is not a man to be listened to on this subject, on which self interest must naturally incline him to deprecate a war with "the virtuous young republic," to the government of which he has, perhaps, lent his money. Few amongst us—who are Britons at heart as well as by birth, who have not placed our money in the American funds, who have resolved to stand by our country to the last, who never basely console ourselves with the idea that should the worst happen, we can then, deserting our native land, fly to America where we had previously insured our welcome;—few of us I say, shall feel any regret should Mr. Alexander Baring, or even should the late Lord High Chancellor Baron Erskine, of Clackmannan, know from sad experience the perfidy of American debtors. I think it would be attended with good effect, Mr. Cobbett, if you were to consolidate what has lately appeared in your Weekly Register on the subject of America, into a small pamphlet. You have displayed much acute reasoning, and advanced many stubborn facts, which might by this means be more generally diffused throughout the kingdom than they perhaps are at present, as many people, from the almost universal interest taken in the subject, would read the pamphlet who have not had an opportunity of seeing the numbers of the Register, in which the conduct of America has been so ably discussed. By inserting this in some future Number you will oblige, ——Yours, &c.—ALGERNON.—*March* 21, 1808.

AMERICAN PETITIONS.

SIR,——When Mr. Baring and his petitioning junto, exclaimed so loudly against the intrusion of clerks into the meeting of American merchants, I guessed (well knowing the character of the faction) that we should find, on inquiry, that a large number of their supporters at the meeting were o that description; but, I did not suppose they would have pushed impudence and inconsistency so far, as to have permitted those very clerks to have signed the petition presented, as the petition of merchants. Yet, Sir, one of the first names affixed to the patriotic petition from London (patriotic, indeed, if, as reported, it is signed chiefly by Americans) is that of one Palmer, who though a petitioner, and of course incapable by law of giving evidence in his own cause, was one of

the principal witnesses called by "Councillor Brougham" to bear testimony before the House of Commons, of the fatal effects of the Orders in Council.—On the cross examination, by the House, of this important person, he was obliged to confess that he was "the agent, or, if you please, the clerk of Guest and Co.;" that he had signed the requisition for the meeting at the London Tavern, in the name of his employers, without their knowledge; but, that he had very cautiously subscribed the petition with his own. When a member of the house (Mr. Croker) naturally enough, one should think, wished to inquire by what right, or in what character, this clerk had put himself so forward before the house and the country as a merchant, the whole party took alarm; Mr. Citizen Baring, my Lord Temple, and even Mr. Bragge Bathurst (Mr. Vansittart sat just behind him) thought such an inquiry unnecessary and even injurious: "Palmer," they alledged, "had signed the petition, and that should content the house." Mr. Croker and Mr. Pole Carew, thought that "in forming an estimate of the weight and respectability of a petition, the weight and respectability of the petitioners were no bad ingredients, and that in considering what regard was due to evidence, it was not quite superfluous to be satisfied of the veracity, experience, and character of the witness." Then came Sir John Newport, referring to the petition, and discovering that it was entitled the petition of merchants, manufacturers, and *others*, and that though it might appear that this clerk was neither merchant or manufacturer, it could not be denied that he was one of the *others!!!* Oh rare Sir John! So anxious, however, were the party to uphold Mr. Palmer, that undeterred by Sir John's defence, they divided the house, and on the house deciding that the inquiry should proceed, they were put to the open shame of having one of their chief requisitors, petitioners and witnesses, proved to be no more than a clerk, who sometimes signed one name, sometimes another, and whose connexion with America was neither more or less than that the house at whose desks he wrote were concerned in the American trade, and that "he himself had some little matters of money due to him from persons of that country!!!"——Now, Sir, one little word as to the Manchester Petition, I observe that out of the 25 or 30 signatures, there are 7 in the name of Phillips; I observe also, that one of the witnesses is called Phillips; I should be glad to know, whether there are 7 separate firms of the name of Phillips in Manchester; or, whether one firm, instead of signing Phillips and Sons (or whatever its title may be) has split itself into 7 signatures, judiciously intermixed with the other names: this is a piece of candour which one might well expect from the fellow labourer of Palmer, alias Guest and Co. Merchant, alias Agent, alias Clerk, alias something or *other*.—Before I conclude, allow me to furnish you with an epitome of the evidence already collected at the bar of the house, which I trust will have the same effect in the country that it had there.——Q. What has occasioned the interruption of our trade with America?—A. The Orders in Council.—Q. Do you not attribute this interruption partly to the non-importation act, to the non-ratification of the treaty, and to the American embargo?—A. I attribute it to the Orders in Council.—Q. Does the difficulty of importing into America arise from their non-importation act, which prohibits that trade, or from our Orders in Council which permit it?——A. From the Orders in Council.——Q. Is the non-exportation of American produce from their own ports, attributable to their embargo which prevents the sailing of ships, or to our Orders in Council that permit it?—A. To the Orders in Council.—Q. How do you account for the non payment of American bills, which (if intended to be paid) should have been provided for 2 or 3 months before the Orders in Council were made?——A. By the Orders in Council.——Absurd, Mr. Cobbett, as this appears, I venture to assure you, it is no caricature; when the evidence comes to be published, you will find, that however dilated, glossed, or perplexed, it may be, it will in essentials, tally exactly with the foregoing abridgment.—I shall expect, by and bye, to hear it asserted, and proved by merchants, manufacturers and *others*, that the appearance of the Comet, the battle of Friedland, Lord Lauderdale's Parisian duress, the capitulation of Rosetta, and the discontents in Ireland, are all chargeable on the infamous, impolitic, and ruinous Orders in Council.—I am, Sir, &c. ——M. M.——*March* 21, 1808.

THE RUINED AMERICAN MERCHANT.

SIR,——I deem it to be incumbent upon me to address you again, much sooner than it was my intention when I sent you my letter of the 29th of February, and which you have inserted in page 441 of the present volume of your Register, in consequence of an act of parliament having recently, and since my former letter to you been passed, respecting one of the many grievous complaints I have been compelled to make respecting the

balance of money remaining in the hands of the cashier of the bank, to the credit of the commissioners on American Claims. It is necessary that I do so for two reasons.—— First, Because it is not generally known to my brother claimants that such an act has passed, or that it was in the contemplation of government at length to pass such, or that it was intended to employ the balance for the benefit of the claimants; and, in truth, Mr. Cobbett, it was a subject altogether not reflected upon, until the appearance of your Register of the 29th of February, even by government. But, why so much secrecy in passing the bill through the House of Commons? Is it absolutely necessary to do good by stealth? Why not have publicly communicated to those unfortunate men, who are the subject of the act of parliament, the intention of government, and have boldly heard their opinion upon, and objections, if such they had, to the wording of the proposed act. The bill was raced through the house without comment beyond the aye and no of the Speaker; no notice whatever taken of its provisions by the watchful guardians of our liberties and property, and was suffered to pass into an act sub silentio, and so far as the knowledge of the merchants interested in the subject may extend, it would remain a dead letter without your insertion of the fact.——The other reason is, because my complaint of the sacrifice made of us and our interests by government, in not originally authorising the money paid by the United States to be placed out at interest, and providing prospectively for our benefit in consequence of the sacrifice made of us in conceding our claims upon America, amounting to £5,000,000 for £600,000, is partially done away, and it is proper that I acknowledge the act of government in this respect having in my former letter referred to the money remaining in the bank unemployed, and expressly stated the propriety of parliament placing it out at interest, and of which there should not have been the doubt of a moment. Largely interested as I am, even I should have remained equally ignorant with my brother claimants of the fact of the act of parliament having passed, had not the act been stated to be in the daily papers, an act for the relief of the American loyalists; this directed my attention to ascertain why government should still year after year keep in pay, and extend its protecting power to that body of men, many of whom have been more than amply remunerated for losses, while others of them sought indemnity for imaginary losses; and again others paid for the loss of property and professions, who when the war with America broke out, were infants "mewling and puking in the nurse's arms;" paid out of the daily labour of British industry, and rioting their annual pensions paid by the British government to them as British subjects at this day in their dear native land America, and laughing at the gullibility of John Bull, that there persons might possibly be intended to be again and again remunerated, while we, the merchants faithful to our native soil Britain, were starving on hopes which we had indulged for 33 years, and to attain which, the age of an antedeluvian would not be sufficient to insure; naturally awakened me to the reflection upon our severe and unprecedented lot. Whatever tends to our interest and benefit, or, on the contrary, whatever may be enacted even to our prejudice, and to add to our protracted days of misery, should be openly and boldly communicated to us; and, therefore, as the secret publicity, if I may be allowed the expression with which this act is ushered into the printing press of Messrs. Eyre and Strahan, precludes the knowledge of this addition to our laws among my brother claimants, I adopt this mode of communicating the fact for their information. The act, Mr. Cobbett, was passed on the 21st of March, and it declares (in support of my assertion of the accumulating years that may yet be expended) that "a considerable time may yet elapse before all the claims of persons entitled to receive any compensation out of the said sum of £600,000 are adjudged, *and it may be expedient* that such part of the balance of the said sum of money remaining in the hands of the cashier of the said governor and company undistributed, *as to the said commissioners shall seem fit*, should in the mean time be vested in Exchequer Bills." After which it enacts, that it shall be lawful for the commissioners to withdraw such part of the balance of the £600,000 *as to them shall seem fit*, and invest the same in Exchequer Bills. Vague and unsatisfactory as is the act which imperatively compels nothing, still the delegation of a power to make interest of the money is a shade better than was its former situation locked up in the bank; but it may still remain there if it is not deemed *expedient* to withdraw it from its strong hold, and unless the commissioners shall hold it to be *fit* to add interest to principal. I approve not, Mr. Cobbett, of milk and water laws similar to this; if it is deemed a good to adopt that which the act certainly enables men to do in the exercise of their discretion, or under the influence of caprice compel them to do it, leave it not to indefinite authority. If it is fit and expedient to give the power to

withdraw this money from the bank, why not make it incumbent upon the holders of this money to appropriate it to useful purposes in the way of gain, for the benefit of the much injured and insulted claimants, and let not the possibility remain of this money continuing for the next seven years, as it has several years hitherto up to the time of passing the act, wholly unemployed (at least not employed for the benefit of the neglected sufferers) at an annual loss of £30,000. As government have at length thought proper to declare that interest may be made of this money in future, and have by the act now passed, decided upon the impropriety of the conduct of those men who composed the administration at the time the original act was passed individually, the same men who now hold the reins of government, and who neglected to make interest of the money heretofore, it would have been well if they had not deemed it proper to confess their negligence or wilful misconduct, at least to have struck out some means of indemnification for the loss sustained by us upon the £600,000, during the years it has been suffered to remain an incumbrance in the hands of the cashier of the bank. £30,000 a year, will in 7 years amount to £210,000, a sum more than equal to one-third of the amount of the price of the composition money, the price of our sacrifice by that very able and experienced negociator Lord Hawkesbury, who with that happy liberality for which he justly ranks eminently high, stipulated only for £600,000 to discharge £5,000,000, when Mr. Rufus King was empowered by America, to agree to the payment of £1,200,000, this high trait in the character of that nobleman, certainly entitles him to the thanks of the virtuous republican, and, from the time of the acceptance of the composition, insolvent American debtors, and the gracious smiles of King Cong, as you stile the dear ally of France. It is to be recollected too, that this concession was made by men who severely retort upon the proposed concessions of the Fox administration to America, a concession far exceeding, I mean in principle (for what is the concession of £5,000,000 to the mind of men accustomed to the amount of the national debt, one hundred times that sum), any concessions granted or about to be granted by the late administration, of which Mr. Fox formed a part. However, which soever party actually made the greatest concessions is not material to us, now, our rights having somehow or other been frittered away by one party or the other, and by which, is of no consequence to the person who now addresses you, who has an equal opinion of all party men, and who never did belong, and never will, to any party, believing that the instant a man sets his foot in office his sentiments change, and his principle, if he ever had any, becomes subservient to his interest. Yet, I must except out of my general reason two men, the late Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt, the former, if ever there was a man who had the welfare of his country at heart, even to the sacrifice of every personal consideration, was justly entitled to the distinction; and Mr. Pitt also, for his determined perseverance in the measures which he deemed beneficial to his country.—A RUINED OLD AMERICAN MERCHANT.—*April 7*, 1808.

VAILS.

SIR,— As a constant reader of your Register, I have observed with much satisfaction, that however our opinions on some few political occasions may have differed, I have always seen reason to applaud your manly assertions of the principles of truth, however unpalatable to some classes; and above all, you are intitled to the esteem of every honest man, for your endeavours to check those moral evils which have of late increased to an alarming height. This too you have done without any methodistical cant, which some persons neither wiser nor better than their neighbours, think it for their advantage to adopt. Without further preface then, and in the full confidence, if my sentiments appear just, that they will meet a portion of your attention; I will proceed to point out the approaching return of an intolerable evil, in various ways, which our forefathers saw cause to exert themselves in abolishing. I allude to the nuisance of vails, or rather extortions, the meaning of which appears to me to be comprised in the folly of the master and the exactions of the domestic; and which in these times have taken a fresh current, by the infamous connivance of persons in trade. Some circumstances which have come before my eyes, appear to me of a nature so contaminating to these classes of people, that I should (though but an humble one) acquit myself very ill as an individual, if I did not endeavour to apply the remedy, by an exposnre of the disease.—Formerly, when the odious custom of vails existed, wages were not above one-seventh of the sums now generally paid. But to those low wages an inhospitable right was annexed, of exacting presents from those who partook of the cheer of the master's board. This practice after a time came to such a pitch, that a dinner at a gentleman's

house cost as much or more than a tavern bill; for one fellow brought a glove, another a hat, a third a stick, a fourth a great coat, and a fifth, if nothing else were left, would not hesitate to snatch the handkerchief, if it invitingly shewed a corner, from the unwitting stranger's pocket, purely for the disinterested satisfaction of returning it. This practice having become quite intolerable, some spirited gentlemen in spite of incendiary threats, and blood thirsty anonymous letters, did call meetings in their counties, and by general consent abolished the evil; and by way of remuneration raised their servant's wages, to their present high rate, which with the addition of board and lodging is more than equal to the pay of a subaltern officer in his Majesty's forces—whose life or limb may be every day required in the service of his country. This evil which appears to the master to be abolished, is to my certain knowledge again creeping in to some of the great houses of the nobility unknown to their hospitable owners. Few friends (however esteemed) choosing to incur the risk of being thought meddling or officious in the domestic affairs of another; and this fact being too certain to my own knowledge, I think it my duty to give it publicity.——Not content, however, with such means of filling their pockets, they are as with one accord, endeavouring to create a still more odious species of exaction, as in fact, it involves a breach both of trust and honesty, and the difficulty of discovery emboldens them so far, that it is the theme of discourse at their clubs, their hops, and their occasional orgies after their unsuspecting masters have retired to rest, or are absent from home.—When the period for the adjustments of the annual family accounts arrives, in too many instances, the upper servants make their demands for a per centage thereon; and, disgusting as it may seem, there are many tradesmen villainous enough to hold out baits for custom by a competition, in the extravagant amount of their bribes. Nay, Sir, the fact is scarcely attempted to be concealed, of which an instance occurred in my own family, an upper servant having given me warning forsooth, because I presumed to pay my own bills; stating, or rather mis-stating to me, that by his becoming the medium of payment, I should suffer no loss, and he would obtain a considerable advantage; an assertion so self-evidently absurd, that no one but a mere drivelling ideot could for one moment give credit to it. For, can common sense suffer one to believe that an honest tradesman can afford to sell goods to the master at a fair price, where the butler or housekeeper is to partake of his profits, without sharing his labours, or experiencing his risks and possible losses.—This may be exemplified in the discourses of an eminent coal merchant and horse dealer, the former assuring me he had lost several customers, from resisting the shameful exaction of servants; who when they were not acceded to, burnt and destroyed the best coals below, and sent nothing but the refuse to the parlour and the dining room.—The latter asserted that the high demands for horses, arose chiefly from the fees required by servants, who without a share of the booty, would abuse their horses, and get their customers away by various pretences; and he further assured me, that he had lost the disposal of a pair of carriage horses the day before, by refusing to add on to the amount demanded, the trifling sum of one fifth to be transferred by his means from the pocket of the master to that of the coachman.—Again, it is not uncommon where a liberal hospitality exists, for the head servant to keep a sort of open table for any rascally acquaintance who may have forfeited his place or his character, or by the economy of the master have been placed upon board wages. For my part, I call such acts far worse than picking pockets; as it is blackened by breaches of trust and honesty; for, it is of little consequence which we are pilfered of, money or money's worth.—If more instances were wanting to prove the necessity of crushing these criminal and growing evils; many might be adduced, but that enough I think has been said to create disgust at the conduct of the pampered menial; and to excite a determination in the higher classes, to resist and repress such mal-practices; as a duty even to their servants, who from luxury and progressive acts of roguery and rapine, too frequently terminate existence by a criminal and disgraceful death on the gallows, or through the lenity of their prosecutors have their sentences mitigated, by being banished from their country as felons and malefactors. I cannot, however, quit this subject without attaching blame, and a very great share of it, to the absurd fashions of the day. For now a woman who condescends to regulate the household affairs of her husband's family, becomes absolutely a butt for satire and ridicule, to the ill-judging, but more numerous part of her sex, which it has been but too truly said is the severest test of truth. Nor are the masters of families to be spared from severe animadversion for taking, as is too constantly done, servants of indifferent characters, and in some instances without any characters what-

ever, an evil so great in its consequences, that it ought to be made actionable at common law, and punished as severely as a servant would be for obtaining a false character. —To you, Sir, whose time is now so usefully dedicated to the service of the public, some apology might seem necessary, were not the subject of my letter one of so much importance to the public. For I trust you will agree with me, that devising the means of repressing crimes is a duty we all owe in our several stations.——T. S.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

AMERICAN STATES.—*President Jefferson's Message to the Congress, dated February 3, 1808.*

Having received an official communication of certain orders of the British government against maritime rights of neutrals, bearing date the 11th of November, 1807, I transmit them to Congress, as a further proof of the increasing dangers to our navigation and commerce, which led to the provident act of the present session, laying an embargo on our own vessels.

RUSSIA.—*Declaration against Sweden, Feb. 10, 1808.*

Justly indignant at the violence which England has displayed towards the King of Denmark, the Emperor of Russia, faithful to his character and to his system of unceasing care for the interests of his Empire, notified to the King of Great Britain, that he could not remain insensible of so unjust and unexampled an aggression on a Sovereign connected with him by the ties of blood and friendship, and who was the most ancient Ally of Russia.—His Imperial Majesty informed the King of Sweden of this determination by a note, dated the 24th of September last, presented to the Swedish Ambassador.—An article of the treaty concluded in 1783, between the Empress Catharine and Gustavus III. and another in the treaty of 1800, between the late Emperor Paul and the present King of Sweden, contain the reciprocal and stipulated agreement to maintain the principle, that the Baltic is a close Sea, with the guarantee of its coasts against all acts of hostility, violence or vexations whatever; and further, to employ for this purpose all the means in the power of the respective contracting parties. His Imperial Majesty, referring to these treaties, considered himself not merely authorised, but bound, to call upon the King of Sweden for his co-operation against England.—His Swedish Majesty did not disavow the obligation imposed upon him by the treaties referred to, but refused all co-operation until the French troops should be removed from the coasts, and the ports of Germany opened to English ships. But the question here was the checking of those aggressions which England had commenced, and by which all Europe was disturbed. The emperor demanded from the King of Sweden a co-operation founded on treaties; but his Swedish Majesty answered by proposing to delay the execution of the treaty to another period, and by troubling himself with the care of opening the Dutch ports, for England. In a word, with rendering himself of service to that England, against which measures of defence ought to have been taken. It would be difficult to find a more striking proof of partiality on the part of the King of Sweden towards Great Britain, than this which he has here given.—His Imperial Majesty, on the 16th of November, caused a second note to be delivered, in which his Swedish Majesty was informed of the rupture between Russia and England.—This note remained two months unanswered, and the answer which was transmitted on the 9th of January to his Majesty's Ministers, was to the same purport as the former.—The emperor is, however, far from regretting his moderation. He is, on the contrary, well pleased to recollect that he has employed every means that remained to him for bringing back his Swedish Majesty to the only system of policy which is consistent with the interests of his States; but his Imperial Majesty owes it at least to his people, and to the security of his dominions, which is to a Sovereign the highest of all laws, no longer to leave the co-operation of Russia with Sweden a matter of doubt.—Informed that the Cabinet of St. James's, endeavouring to terrify Denmark into a concurrence with the interests of England threatened that Swedish troops should occupy Zealand, and that the possession of Norway should be guaranteed to the King of Sweden; assured also that his Swedish Majesty, while he left the Russian note unanswered, was secretly negociating a treaty at London, his Imperial Majesty perceived that the interests of his empire would be very ill secured were he to permit his neighbour, the King of Sweden, at the commencement of a war between Russia and England, to disguise his well-known sentiments of attachment to the latter power, under the appearance of a pretended neutrality. His Imperial Majesty, therefore; cannot allow the relations of Sweden towards Russia to remain longer in a state of uncertainty. He cannot give his consent to such a neutrality.—His Swedish Majesty's being

therefore no longer doubtful, nothing remained for his Imperial Majesty but to resort to those means which Providence has placed in his hands, for no other purpose except that of giving protection and safety to his dominions; and he has deemed it right to notify this intention to the King of Sweden, and to all Europe.—Having thus acquitted himself of that duty, which the safety of his dominions require, his Imperial Majesty is ready to change the measures he is about to take, to measures of precaution only, if the King of Sweden will, without delay, join Russia and Denmark in shutting the Baltic against England until the conclusion of a maritime peace. He himself invites the king, his brother-in-law, for the last time, and with all the feelings of real friendship, no longer to hesitate in fulfilling his obligations, and in embracing the only system of policy which is consistent with the interests of the Northern Powers. What has Sweden gained since her king attached himself to England?—Nothing could be more painful to his Imperial Majesty than to see a rupture take place between Sweden and Russia. But his Swedish Majesty has it still in his power to prevent this event by, without delay, resolving to adopt that course which can alone preserve a strict union and perfect harmony between the two States.

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FINLAND.——*Proclamation to the Inhabitants of Finland; issued by the Russian General, Count Buxhovden; dated Head Quarters, Frederickshamn, Feb.* 18, 1808.

It is with the utmost concern his Imperial Majesty, my most gracious master, finds himself necessitated to order his troops under my command to enter your country, good friends, and inhabitants of Swedish Finland.—His Imperial Majesty feels the more concerned to take this step, to which he is compelled by the transactions which have taken place in Sweden, as he still bears in mind the generous and friendly sentiments which the Fins displayed towards Russia in the last war, when the Swedish king engaged in an invasion of Finland, in a manner equally unexpected and unwarrantable.—His present Swedish Majesty, far from joining his Imperial Majesty in his exertions to restore the tranquillity of Europe, which alone can be effected by the coalition which so fortunately has been formed by the most powerful states, has on the contrary formed a closer alliance with the enemy of tranquillity and peace, whose oppressive system and unwarrantable conduct towards his Imperial Majesty and his nearest ally, his Imperial Majesty cannot by any means look upon with indifference.—It is on this ground, in addition to what his Imperial Majesty owes to the security of his own dominions, that he finds himself necessitated to take your country under his protection, in order to serve to himself due satisfaction, in case his royal Swedish Majesty should persist in his design not to accept the just conditions of peace which have been tendered to him by his French Majesty, through the mediation of his Imperial Russian Majesty, in order to restore the blessings of peace, which are at all times the principal object of his Imperial Majesty's attention.—Good friends and men of Finland remain quiet and fear nought, we do not come to you as enemies, but as your friends and protectors, to render you more prosperous and happy, and to avert from you the calamities which, if war should become indispensible, must necessarily befall you.—Do not allow yourself to be seduced to take to arms, or to treat in a hostile manner the troops who are committed to my orders; should any one offend against this admonition, he must impute to himself the consequences of his conduct, while, on the other hand, those who meet his Imperial Majesty's paternal care for the welfare of this country, may rest assured of his powerful favour and protection.—And as it is his Imperial Majesty's will, that all the affairs in your country shall pursue their usual course, and be managed according to your ancient laws and customs, which are to remain undisturbed, as long as his troops remain in your country, all officers both civil and military, are herewith directed to conform themselves thereto: provided that no bad use be made of this indulgence, contrary to the good of the country.—Prompt payment shall be made for all provisions and refreshments required for the troops, and in order that you may still more be convinced of his Majesty's paternal solicitude for your welfare, he has ordered several magazines to be formed, in addition to those which are already established, out of which the most indigent inhabitants shall be supplied with necessaries, in common with his Majesty's troops.——Should circumstances arise to require an amicable discussion and deliberation, in that case you are directed to send your deputies, chosen in the usual manner, to the City of Abo, in order to deliberate upon the subject, and adopt such measures as the welfare of the country shall require.—It is his Imperial Majesty's pleasure, that from this moment Finland shall be considered and treated in the same manner as other conquered provinces of the Russian empire, which now enjoy happiness and peace under the mild government of his Im-

perial Majesty, and remain in full possession of the freedom of religion and worship, as well as of all its ancient rights and privileges. —The taxes payable to the crown remain in substance unaltered, and the pay of the public officers of every description continues likewise on its ancient footing.

SWEDEN.——*Declaration against Russia, 11 March*, 1808.

The first intimation his Majesty received of the hostile entrance of Russian troops into Finland on the 21st of February last, and of their public incitements to rebellion and revolt circulated in that province immediately afterwards, on behalf of his Imperial Russian Majesty, was by a telegraphic dispatch.—A breach of peace without a previous declaration of war, without a single article of complaint being preferred; a breach of peace emanating from treachery, and carried on by a traitor of his native country, * placed at the side of the Commander in Chief, is an event which has but few examples, and must at the first glance create detestation; but when this act is examined at the same time with what has lately occurred between the two countries; when contemplated in its forbidding deviation from those paths of truth and honour exemplified by his Ally, no feeling can then express, no name can compass the extent of such depravity; its features will remain without a parallel in history, filling up the deeds of iniquity heaped together in the present age. — At a time when his Imperial Russian Majesty, seemed to feel tenderly for oppressed princes and countries; at a time when he estimated the dangers which threatened all Europe, his Majesty, actuated by similar sentiments, was led into engagements with him, founded on the confidence he placed in him as a neighbour, an ally, and as an independent Monarch. The Emperor of Russia, in reference to the general welfare, had entered into useful engagements, had yet to demand of France the fulfilment of existing treaties, was possessed of power to support his own rights and those of all others concerned; his Majesty entered into an alliance with him, and is now attacked by him on the direct ground of having been his ally.—Never did a prince enter into an alliance with a more assured consciousness of the purity of its motives, as well as of its being inviolably kept, The Emperor had been personally insulted by the refusal of the French government to fulfil a concluded and sealed treaty; had been publicly defamed by repeated insults levelled at his own person. The Russian nation had been no less insulted, being gazetted as savages and barbarians † Thus every thing that is sacred to a government, was connected with the common interest. Was it then possible but to look upon as irrevocable, what the Emperor himself had declared, "that he would reject all conditions of peace, whether more or less advantageous, if they were not consistent with the glory of the Russian name; the security of the Empire; the sanctity of alliances; and the tranquillity and peace of all Europe." ‡—In what manner, and how far these great objects have been obtained by the Peace of Tilsit, contemporaries have already decided, and futurity will more clearly discover. The King, although at his post on the theatre of war, was, contrary to the express tenor of his convention with Russia, § neither informed of the Armistice, nor of the definitive negociations, till the peace was concluded, having received advice of these transactions, accompanied with a cold and slight invitation to assist in the object of peace, || the King renewed his application for an armistice (which ought, no doubt, to have been stipulated in the peace of Tilsit), but received only evasive answers, and discovered at once the value of Russian co-operation. The King finding himself in consequence unable to defend his

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* George Springporten.

† A people (the Russians) who from their barbarous customs and manners ought to create abhorrence amongst all civilized nations.—Ordre du Jour. Vienne, le 25 Brumaire, An. 14 (14th November, 1805.) —These savage bands, whose assistance shall for the last time, be called forth by European governments—25 Bulletin de la grand armeé, le 25 Brumaire, An 14. If the Greek religion be allowed once to spread itself between the Baltic and the Mediterranean seas, we shall soon see our provinces attacked by a heap of mad barbarians—proclamation, the head-quarters, Warsaw, 2 th Jan. 1807. Signed Napoleon Buonaparte.

‡ See the Russian Manifest of the 30th August, 1806.

§ Both the high contracting parties had engaged in the most powerful manner, that the hostilities being once commenced, they should not lay down their arms, or treat about any reconciliation with the French government without their mutual consent. The convention between Sweden and Russia, dated the 14th January, 1805.—Art. IX.

|| General Budberg's letter to Baron de Wetterstedt, First Secretary for the foreign correspondence dated the 10th J ly, 1807.

German states any longer, was obliged to leave them to their subsequent fate. Having sustained this loss, originating in the desertion of Russia, his Majesty was again placed out of the theatre of war, and endeavoured to enjoy within his own territory that peace and quietness which its geographical situation seemed to ensure to him. Having faithfully acted up to his engagements towards Russia, his Majesty promised himself that notwithstanding the different system she had adopted, a just and equitable retrospect would be given to former occurrences. The King had supported the operations of Russia with his ships of war; had shared with the Emperor his military stores; had rejected and immediately communicated the offers made him by the French Government. ¶ Among others one that on condition of breaking with Russia while in the midst of the war, and when the Russian frontiers and her very capital were defenceless, Sweden should be put in possession of all the provinces lost during the reign of Charles XII, together with such further part of the Russian empire as his Majesty might determine. His Majesty stands on higher ground than to make a merit of having resisted temptations so mean and contemptible; but he is not without hopes that the aggregated censure due to a power thus spared in the hour of danger, will be proportioned to its oppressive conduct towards this kingdom. — The consequences of the secret articles of the treaty of Tilsit, which were immediately suspected, and which the Russian Ministry have since acknowledged, began by degrees to unfold themselves. England's commercial monopoly, that ridiculous scarecrow, erected by the French government, in order to usurp to itself the continent, was also brought forward for the contemplation of the North, for the sake of extending, even to that part of the world, the oppression and misery which, from port to port, from state to state, Europe had been subjected to. No government is any longer left to its own light and experience; no people to their own lawful industry; no middle class must be acknowledged between the vassal and the enemy. Peace signifies confederacy—confederacy, submission; and from paris must proceed the mandates which are to dictate both principles, laws, and ordinancies, to the ielf-styled independaut confederacy, while they promote only a lust for power, and violate what is most sacred in society and between societies.—Preparations were made in conformity at St. Peterburgh last Autumn, for a rupture with England, and they waited only for the proper season of the year to be able, with somewhat more security, to carry that measure into effect. A proposal was made to his Royal Majesty, in a note, dated the 6th of October, to assist agreeably to the convention made in 1780, in shutting the Baltic against foreign ships of war. His Majesty, on the 13th November, returned for answer that so long as the French government was in possession of so many harbours on the south side of the Baltic, and there exercised their system of exclusion, the Baltic could not be kept peaceable. His Majesty in consequence also requested that his Imperial Majesty would first endeavour to prevail on the French to quit those ports; and when the first-mertioned application was renewed on the 27th of the same month, as an objection grounded on the convention of 1780, his Majesty circumstantially declared on the 21st Jan. last, that by virtue of the convention made in the year 1801, between Russia and England, and to which his Majesty, at the pressing instance of Russia, and under her own guarantee, became a party, the previous armed neutrality had entirely ceased. That his majesty had then entered into direct engagements with England, in reference to that object, and which could not equitably be departed from, so long as the latter power, on her side, fulfilled her obligations. That at the same time that the armed neutrality was done away with, the stipulations grounded therein, respecting the shutting of the Baltic, became null and void, and which was the less applicable to existing circumstances, as the Danish naval force, then calculated upon, no longer was in being; not to mention that England had since that time, discovered the passage through the great Belt. But that of Sweden could not with her arms contribute to the protection of the Baltic, she would, on the other hand, take upon herself to obtain, by negociation with England, that she should not send any ships of war into those seas, provided no other power made armaments there, or new hostilities should oblige her to come there as an as-

¶ Promise of Norway given by General Bernadotte to a Swedish officer—a prisoner, Nov. 1806, respecting the extending of dominions of the french minister, Bourienne to Netzel the Chargé des Affaires the 14th November 1806. General Grandjean's representation to Colonel Baron Tavast, the 27th May, 1807, that Sween was to demand what territory she wished to have in order that she might counterbalance Russia, &c. &c.

sistant.—That Sweden should be called upon to serve Russia as outworks, because she had thought proper to provoke England; that Sweden should sacrifice her fleet and commerce as a defence for Cronstadt and Revel, was asking rather too much: yet immediately after these representations, Russia actually commenced her preparations for war on the frontiers of Finland. His Majesty continued, notwithstanding, to view them with calm forbearance; for as yet no specific complaints had been preferred, nor had any unconditional demands been made. The proposal (His Majesty had made) of an agreement to protect the Baltic, presented aspects of tranquillity and advantage to Russia, to all the North, which it would appear could not, but under great responsibility, be refused. The ports of Russia would thereby become more frequent than they had been since the commencement of the war, and might obtain an emulation in trade respecting their produce unknown for many years. Neighbourly friendship, commerce, repose after an unfortunate war, and some motives for applause after a still more unfortunate peace, such were the advantages to be derived from the proposals which the king made to the Emperor. They were made with a well grounded confidence in the concurrence of England, and his Majesty expected Russia's consent would have arrived much earlier than the dreaded English fleet could shew itself as an avenger in the Baltic. He pressed a speedy answer, and it was intended that the King's Ambassador should on the 15th of February, in a private audience with the Emperor, which was promised him, urge this important concern, when at once the communication of the embassy with Sweden was in a violent manner interrupted, and Russian troops entered Finland with the following proclamations: (Here follow the Russian proclamations, dated Frederiksham the 18th (6th) Feb. 1808, and Louisa, 10th (22d) Feb. 1808, already published). The declaration then concludes as follows:—Let every legal government, let every brave and honest warrior, every loyal subject, judge of this conduct: a treacherous invasion of a peaceful neighbour's country, preceded by manifestoes inviting to rebellion, are things at all times detestable, even in these latter times, otherwise so burthened with examples of violence and injustice. The Russian Empire, the ally of France, is not it would seem, powerful enough to abide upon the common terms of the law of nations, the resistance of a province left to defend itself on account of the season of the year. It calls forth the aid of treachery and treason. The government expects to purchase the Finlanders *en masse*, under promises of liberty; but the commander of the army offers to purchase the soldiers individually, like slaves, in the market of St. Petersburgh or Riga.—Ye youthful inhabitants of Finland, a people worthy of esteem; your King has, during the whole of his reign, paid attention to your instruction, to the cultivation and prosperity of your country. A faithless neighbour threatens to hurl you back to the state you were in in ages past, because your neighbourhood is become a reproach to him. His sword is brandished over your heads; his plundering hands are stretched towards your property; his forces approach your dwelling, and his promises and protestations have no other aim than to facilitate his access to you. Deeply grieved at the distresses inseparable from war, although conscious of in no wise having been the cause of it, your king rests assured that your hearts will remain unseduced and your courage unsubdued, till the time shall arrive when he can freely employ his whole force and that of his ally in protecting and revenging you.

SWEDEN. — *Proclamation, 14th March, 1808.*

Whereas the eastern frontiers of the kingdom have already been invaded by a Russian force; and whereas the western, southern, and northern frontiers are in danger of invasion: we are compelled by all the means in our power to defend our kingdom, and at the same time to avail ourselves, for its security, of the sacred duty imposed upon the king of Sweden, as well by the ancient fundamental laws of the country, as by the present form of government. That we may be the better able to oppose our enemies, we hereby command all unmarried and able young men, between the ages of 18 and 25 years, of what rank soever they may be, excepting such as have heretofore served as soldiers or seamen, to be ready whenever they may be called upon, to defend their country. In the mean time we order our commanders immediately to enrol all young men of the above description, in every parish throughout the kingdom, and transmit to us a statement thereof as speedily as possible, that we may, accordingly to the information given of the number in each district, issue orders for their organization as regular troops. All those whom these may concern are hereby enjoined to observance.—Given at our palace at Stockholm, this 14th day of March 1808.—GUSTAF ADOLPH.

Besides the above proclamation, there are several others of less moment: one dated March the 3d, prohibiting all travelling into Norway without a pass from the first secretary of state, which is to be granted only on account of especial business; and providing against the circulation of publications on the frontiers. Another proclamation prohibits on pain of death, all communication between the dominions of Sweden and Russia.

DENMARK.——*Declaration against Sweden, 29th February*, 1808.

The Danish government has with just impatience waited to see the effect of the efforts employed by the court of St. Petersburgh for the purpose of recalling Sweden by the most friendly means, to those interests which are common to her with all the powers of the north, and to those principles which are the first bond of her connection with Russia and Denmark. These efforts having finally proved ineffectual, the Danish government finds itself placed in a position towards Sweden which will no longer allow its relations with that kingdom to remain uncertain. What these relations had become, it is indeed impossible to dissemble, after a perfidious aggression had suddenly forced Denmark from the path she had followed during a long series of years without the slightest deviation. All Europe has resounded with one cry of indignation at the crime committed by Great Britain against a neutral and peaceful state; and from all quarters has the Danish government received testimonies of the most lively interest in its cause. The court of Stockholm alone, notwithstanding the particular ties which united it with that of Copenhagen, observed a total silence, which it at length broke, only to prefer complaints the most unfounded and reproaches the most unjust, with respect to the inconveniences that had indirectly resulted to it, from the events of the war, as well as from the rigorous measures which the situation to which the Danish government has been most unexpectedly reduced, has imperiously required it to adopt, and which the chicane and endless vexations of Sweden have been little calculated to induce it to abandon. The Danish cabinet would have been extremely embarrassed to interpret the conduct on the part of a sovereign, whose interests, principles, and sentiments, it had regarded as being equally wounded by an act of atrocity, which has suddenly lighted the flames of war in the north, if it had not quickly seen cause to suppose, that the resolution taken by the king of Sweden under these circumstances was not merely that of indifference. The extraordinary facility with which that monarch, several weeks before the reduction of Stralsund, had consented to the departure of the major part of the English forces in Pomerania (whither, as it should seem, they came with no other view than to await the opportunity of being conveyed to Zealand,) and the pains his Swedish majesty took to inform his people that this re-embarkation took place by virtue of a separate article of his convention with Great Britain, gave the first indications of a secret understanding at the expence of Denmark. These indications were very soon increased. The Danish government is not acquainted with the extent of the assistance which its enemy received in the ports of Sweden; but it has felt the consequences of that assistance in a manner the most lamentable to itself. It is easy to conceive the impression which has been produced upon the Danish nation by the relations of every kind, and the uninterrupted communications which the English found no difficulty in maintaining with Sweden.—No one could fail to remark how much Denmark was insulted by the pleasure which the king of Sweden appeared to take in repairing to the coast opposite to the Sound, and beholding personally all the injustice and outrage committed against a neighbouring country; by the caresses and numberless marks of distinction lavished upon the leaders of the English forces; by the honours which they, on their part, affected to render to the ally of their sovereign; and by the demonstrations of respect towards his Swedish majesty, to which the ships of war, violently seized from the port of Copenhagen, were not bound, on their passage along the Sound, under the cannon even of that fortress to which their salute was owing. However unfavourable an aspect the concurrence of these circumstances necessarily casts upon the dispositions of the King of Sweden towards the government of Denmark, that government cannot reproach itself with having gratuitously exaggerated those appearances, which the court of Stockholm, far from attempting to remove, wished to produce, nourish, and strengthen, as far as it was in its power. But these simple appearances were soon succeeded by facts. The government of England was the first to develope to Denmark the openly hostile disposition of his Swedish Majesty. Europe already knows the explanations occasioned between Denmark and Sweden by this denunciation. The King of Sweden, when called upon in the most frank and friendly manner to declare himself on this subject, was seen to endeavour eluding the necessity

of such a declaration; and when he was at length closely pressed, his Majesty gave an answer oblique, equivocal, and insulting. Nevertheless, as this answer appeared in some measure to give the lie to the government of England, the government of Denmark was contented with it for the moment, and thought it becoming to dissimulate its just resentments against Sweden, in the hope that, enlightened concerning her true interests, and reflecting on the consequences of her resolutions, she would at last end by yielding to the representations which the court of St. Petersburgh had made, with as much tenderness as patience, in order to engage her to renounce her alliance with Great Britain, evidently become incompatible with the tranquillity of the North, and especially with the security of Denmark. The Danish government is but imperfectly acquainted with the nature and extent of the engagements which Sweden has entered into with England; whatever may be the object of them, and whatever their tendency, no one can better conceive or appreciate than itself the repugnance which his Swedish Majesty would feel in failing in any of the obligations he had contracted. But the Cabinet of Copenhagen is not uninformed that the Swedish government itself has admitted, that the term of its engagements recently expired; and after the Cabinet of St. James's had unmasked itself in the face of all Europe, it would have been insulting the Court of Stockholm to suppose that it would dare to concur in an attack upon the first bases of the security, prosperity, and dignity of the Powers of the North. These considerations could not be balanced by the trifling advantage of subsidies, with which the Cabinet of London shews itself ready at all times to purchase its allies, and whom it pretends to have then the right of treating as mercenaries.——The resolutions of the King of Sweden having, however, frustrated the last hopes of his neighbours, the Government of Denmark could no longer hesitate, on its part, to take those measures which its security, the general interest of the North, its attachment to Russia, and the nature of its engagements with that power, imperiously prescribe to it. At a moment when Zealand is threatened anew by the forces of England, to which the ports of Sweden serve as a point of re-union; when the enemy of the North has just assured himself of the dependence of the Court of Stockholm upon him for fresh pecuniary assistance: when the public declarations of the English Ministry sufficiently unfold the nature of the engagements still subsisting or renewed between the two allies, the Danish Government deems it right to prefer a state of open hostility to precarious and equivocal relations towards an enemy whose disposition is become more and more suspicious, and who, during a long period, could be considered only as a disguised enemy. His Majesty the King of Denmark declares consequently, that he adopts altogether the resolutions of Russia in respect to Sweden, and that he will not separate his cause from that of the Emperor Alexander, his august and faithful ally.

PRUSSIA. —— *Declaration of the King of Prussia against Sweden, dated Konigsberg, March 6*, 1808.

His Majesty the King of Prussia, our most gracious sovereign, has been solicited by both imperial courts of Paris and St. Petersburgh, consistently with the system of the other powers of the Continent, and the declaration against England, to extend the same measures against Sweden, which have been taken against England, on account of her fresh alliance with that power. In imitation of the declaration issued by the Emperor of Russia on the 10th (22) of February. In this year, his majesty has accordingly broken off all relations with Sweden, and commands all in office under him, under the penalty of severe punishment, to restrain from all community or intercourse whatever with Sweden. In pursuance of this, from the present moment, and till farther orders, all Prussian harbours shall be utterly closed against Swedish vessels; Prussian vessels shall no longer be sent into Sweden, neither shall Swedish or neutral ships, or wares which came from Sweden, be admitted into Prussian harbours.

GEN. WHITELOCKE.—— *Circular from the Commander in Chief to the Army, 21st March*, 1808.

At a general court-martial, of which general the right hon. Sir William Meadows, K.B. was president, held by virtue of his Majesty's special warrant, bearing date the 25th of January, 1808, at the royal hospital at Chelsea, on the 28th of the same month, and continued by adjournment until the 18th of March following, lieutenant-general Whitelocke was tried.

Sentence.

"The court martial having duly considered the evidence given in support of "the charges against the prisoner, lieutenant-general Whitelocke, his defence, and "the evidence he has adduced, are of opinion, that he is guilty of the whole of the

" said charges, with the exception of that " part of the second charge which relates " to the order that the columns should be " unloaded, and that no firing should be " permitted on any account."—The court are anxious that it may be distinctly understood, that they attach no censure whatever to the precautions taken to prevent unnecessary firing during the advance of the troops to the proposed points of attack, and do therefore acquit lieutenant-general Whitelock of that part of the said charge —" The court " adjudge, that the said lieutenant-general " Whitelocke be cashiered, and declared to- " tally unfit and unworthy to serve his " Majesty in any military capacity what- " ever."

The king has been pleased to confirm the above sentence, and his Royal Highness the commander in chief has received his Majesty's command to direct, that it shall be read at the head of every regiment in his service, and inserted in all regimental orderly books, with a view of its becoming a lasting memorial of the fatal consequences to which officers expose themselves, who, in the discharge of the important duties confided to them, are deficient in that zeal, judgment, and personal exertion, which their Sovereign, and their country, have a right to expect from officers intrusted with high commands.—To his Majesty, who has ever taken a most lively interest in the welfare, the honour, and reputation of his troops, the recent failure of south America, has proved a subject of the most heartfelt regret; but it has been a great consolation to him, and his Majesty has commanded it to be intimated to the army, that after the most minute investigation, his Majesty finds ample cause for gratification in the intrepidity and good conduct displayed by his troops, lately employed on that service, and particularly by those divisions of the army, which were personally engaged with the enemy in the town of Buenos Ayres, on the 5th of July, 1807; and his Majesty entertains no doubt, that had the exertions of his troops in South America been directed by the same skill and energy, which have so eminently distinguished his commanders in other quarters of the world, the result of the campaign would have proved equally glorious to themselves and beneficial to their country. By command of his Royal Highness the commander in chief.—HARRY CALVERT.—*Major-Gen. and Adj. Gen. of the forces.*

CITY OF LONDON.——*Petition to the House of Commons, March 25th* 1808.

Sheweth, that your petitioners have, during a long course of public events, productive of so many calamities, patiently submitted to unexampled burthens, and are still ready to make such further sacrifices as may be necessary for maintaining the honour and independence of the realm.—That these burthens have been considerably augmented by gross abuses in the management and expenditure of the public money, and by a profusion of sinecure places and pensions, which have not only greatly added to the sufferings of the people, but created a pernicious and dangerous influence, corrupting and undermining the pure and free principles of the British constitution.—That after the enormous abuses brought to light by the various commissions of inquiry, it is a matter of deep concern to your petitioners, that the offenders thereby discovered have not been brought to justice, and those who so grossly misapplied the public money have hitherto escaped with impunity.—Your petitioners did therefore rely upon Parliament that speedy and effectual measures would have been adopted to reform such abuses, and detect and punish the offenders in future.—That your petitioners viewed with much satisfaction the foundation of a committee of Finance and hailed the introduction into your hon. house of a bill to prevent the granting of places in reversion, as the first step towards these salutary reformations. They beheld with increased satisfaction the measures taken by your honourable house, both during the late and present sessions of parliament, to carry the same into effect.—That it was with grief and disappointment they observed the views and intentions of your hon. house unhappily frustrated; and they have too much reason to apprehend, that the defeat of this measure has arisen from the baneful and predominating influence, which such abuses must necessarily create, and which this bill was intended to correct.—That it appears to your petitioners at all times essential, that rigid economy should be observed in the expenditure of the public money, and that no places or pensions should be bestowed but for real public services, more particularly so at the present moment, when it is declared, " that this country is at the very crisis of its fate," and the people are called upon for such unexampled sacrifices and exertions. They beg further to suggest to your hon. house the serious consequences likely to result, should a disposition be evinced by either branch of the legislature at a period so awful and momentous, not to participate with the people in their dangers, sacrifices, and privations. They therefore pray your hon. house, not

to relax in your endeavours in carrying so necessary and beneficial a measure into effect, and causing inquiries to be made into the receipt, management and expenditure of the public money, adopting measures which may effectually guard against such abuses in future, and for abolishing all unnecessary places and pensions, as well in reversion as otherwise, as the best means of consolidating the strength of the empire, and calling forth the united energies and exertions of the people, at a time so necessary for the safety and security of his Majesty's dominions.

CITY OF LONDON.——*Petition to the House of Lords, March 25th* 1808.

Sheweth *(after a repetition of the first five paragraphs in the Commons' petition)*,—That it was with grief and disappointment that they observed the views and intentions of their Representative in parliament unhappily frustrated by your lordships' rejection of this necessary and salutary measure, depriving the people, while labouring under such accumulated difficulties, of all hope of seeing any progress made in such great and acknowledged evils.—That they beg most seriously to impress upon your right hon. house, at a time when it is declared, "that this country is at the crisis of its fate," and the united exertions of all ranks are necessary to resist the dangers with which they are assailed, a disposition in either branch of the legislature to withhold from the people a redress of public greviances must be productive of most serious consequences, necessarily damp their ardour, and impede their exertions in the important struggle in which they are engaged.—They therefore pray your right hon. house to take these matters into consideration, and that your lordships will be pleased to adopt the speediest and most effectual measures for reforming all abuses in the receipt, management, and expenditure of the public money, and preventing such abuses in future, and for abolishing all unnecessary places and pensions as well in reversion as otherwise, as the best means of consolidating the strength of the Empire, and calling forth the united energies and exertions of the people, at a time so necessary for the safety and security of his Majesty's dominions.

CITY OF LONDON.—*Address to the King, March 25th*, 1808.

We your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, in Common Council assembled, humbly approach the throne with renewed assurances of our unshaken attachment to your Majesty's sacred person and government.—Your Majesty's faithful Citizens of London are truly sensible of the blessings which the people of this country enjoy in a peculiar manner, for whilst it has pleased the Almighty to permit the overthrow of many nations of Europe, we have the happiness yet to possess unimpaired our glorious constitution, to be governed by the mildest and most benevolent of sovereigns, and to be protected by good and wholesome laws wisely administered. To obtain these blessings our forefathers freely shed their blood; they are placed in our hand as a precious pledge, and we fondly hope that our children's children will enjoy the same to the latest posterity.—We are not unmindful, Sire, that by the preponderating influence of the government of France, almost every state upon the Continent has been compelled to unite in forming one vast and gigantic confederacy, whose efforts are solely directed to bring destruction upon your Majesty's dominions. We view this combination without dread, firmly relying upon a continuance of the divine protection, upon union amongst all ranks of your people, the extinction of party spirit (most essentially necessary at this very important crisis), upon the goodness of our cause, the valour and skill of your Majesty's fleets and armies, and on the vigour, firmness, and wisdom of your Majesty's councils.—With these aids, we doubt not your Majesty will confound and defeat the designs of our inveterate enemy, and in due time be enabled to conclude a peace, at once honourable, secure, and lasting.

THE KING'S ANSWER.

I thank you for your very loyal and dutiful address.—The assurances I receive from you of your unshaken attachment to my person and government, afford me the greatest satisfaction.—The example you have given to all ranks and descriptions of my people of union and public spirit, at this important crisis, cannot but produce the most beneficial consequences, in enabling me to resist effectually the powerful and extensive confederacy which the enemy has directed against my dominions, and ultimately to accomplish the great object of all my efforts—a secure and lasting peace.

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